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Selections.

WHAT MRS. GRUNDY SAYS OF US.

The London Times has been making fun of one of our great Statesmen, no less a person than Daniel Webster, whose last speech in Boston is most terribly quizzed by the "leading journal of Europe;" which, thinking that it may be gratifying to us on this side of the water to know how our great Constitutional Expounder appears to a disinterested looker-on, proceeds to oblige us in the following remarks; for which we beg the London Times to accept our thanks, as they coincide in a remarkable manner with our own views on the same subject:

Mr. Webster's speech to the Boston Whigs exhibits, in very strong relief, the contrast between the present state of British and American politics. Had the speaker, like his celebrated countryman, slept a generation in a cave, he could not have presented to the witnesses of his re-appearance a more laughable figure than he must do to every man of sense in this country. Without venturing to dispute that we may, perhaps, have carried the thing rather too far, it is, nevertheless, almost undeniably true that we are weaned from the stimulus of party. Be the fashion good or bad, it is wholly exploded. Were any man to-morrow to present himself to the public as one of a party, with leaders and watchwords, with a cause to be defended against a moiety of the nation, with elaborate estimates of electioneering gains, and prophecies of electoral conversions, he would be scouted by almost any constituency in this island. They would wonder what he was about, so entirely would he be out of their element.

When, too, he proceeded to unfold a miscellaneous budget of measures, to be defended unto death, simply because they had been emblazoned on the shield of faction, he would certainly make the discovery that the people of England will no longer take their principles on trust from political adventurers. We are left to infer that the electors of Boston have something yet to learn in this respect: if, at least, we are to judge from the frequent cheers which interrupted Mr. Webster, and "the perfect torrent of applause" amidst which he closed.

The electioneering prospects of the Whigs are very promising—as promising and probably as fallacious, as the prospects of our own protectionists some half dozen years since. The day has come when "sound principles" have at length been impressed upon the great central portion of the Union. "We had done excellently in the East," says Mr. Webster—"excellently in the South, and the South-east, and excellently in the steady West. But, nevertheless, while New-York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio were against us, our difficulty was great. We required them to come forward in the great work of maintaining sound Whig principles. Here was our hope."

We will not carry our readers through all the States and the results, which establish the gratifying fact of great Whig resipiscence. It is enough to say, that the United States are waking to a sense of their soundest interest and most undoubted virtue. They are "voting the Whig ticket," and returning anti-Polkers, who, if the world shall last long enough, and there are not some very unforseen changes in the tedious interval, will, at least, save us from a second edition of that President. Such is the hopeful state of Mr. Webster's anticipations. We will venture to interrupt the glowing vision, and just ask our readers if they have not heard all this before? Is it a recollection of a previous state, or is it old Jenkinson himself who is speaking? Our suspicions thicken; the scent grows strong. Eureka? A thousand dollars to a glass of gin sling, the worthy orator is fresh from the orations of our great conservative leader. He is fighting the battles of the Constitution in the registration courts. It is Peel all over.

The conservative model had his good measures and his bad ones. We always thought, and, what is more, we always said, that they were rather of a miscellaneous and patched-up character, like an assortment of articles in a public auction room. Some were genuine enough; some were evidently got up for sale. Mr. Webster shows himself equally *au fait* at the trade of political huckster. He sets off his maintenance of an exhorbitant, impolitic, and unfair tariff, on the one hand, with virtuous horror of the Texan annexation and the Mexican war, on the other. Nothing can be sounder or more instructive than his remarks on the latter point. We cannot, however, suppress our disgust at the company in which they are introduced to us. The village huckster opens a beer-shop that he may allure customers for his bread and cheese, and in order to get rid of last years' printed goods, puts in his shop window some remarkably cheap stockings. Mr. Webster is an adept at the craft. His views of Texas and Mexico is a very good article; his commercial principles are rubbish. Together we calculate they make up a good stock. The former will attract the virtuous, the latter the selfish. What with the conscience, and what with the pocket, and that other nameless, indescribable quality that lies somewhere between the two, he thinks he has a very fair hand, and will play his cards pretty well.

It is unnecessary for us to say that we hope and trust that the calculation is a bad one. We are strong in the belief that Brother Jonathan did not leave his common sense behind him in the land of his fathers. A very little will wake him to that true independence of spirit which declines to take measures on trust, and at any rate will not swallow a whole budget without any sifting. Let him profit by English experience. Let him take neither Webster nor Polk blindly, but exercise his own judgment, and choose his own principles, on their own merits. Perhaps he would like to hear how such an address as Mr. Webster's reads on this side of the Atlantic. We have already hinted at its general effects, but will be more specific. It reads like a certain statesman dead and dug up again. We are told somewhere of a dog returning to his vomit. Mr. Webster's style of politics, factious and factitious, has long been vomited from the stomach of this country. It excites the most disagreeable sensations. When we see it all in our own language, spoken and applauded by our own kith and kin, as the Bostonians still are, it is impossible not to be reminded of the dog in question.

To his views on the Mexican folly, Mr. Webster may stick with the greatest advantage. He has made the case very plain. The Union has been spending, it seems, at the rate of sixty millions of dollars a year for the last five months, that being twice the amount of the revenue. With one army at Monterey, preparing to march upon Mexico—with another army trying to catch up before it has wasted into nothing under the united attack of famine, guerillas, and fever—with two other expeditions, nobody knows where, and a fleet in the Gulf of Mexico, encountering nothing but very bad weather, it is certain that the present rate of expense must go on. Fresh loans must be contracted, at worse and worse terms. This is a view of the question which Mr. Webster observes, is peculiarly adapted to the capacity of his hearers. It is an American habit to count the "cost," and the cost certainly runs up to a very high figure.

But was there ever so good a topic in such a discreditable company? A few years since, as we have said above, we had something of a parallel in "the Church and horned beast interest." In those days "creeds and cattle," "piety and protection," "bishops and butter," the "catechism and cheese," were advocated with equal fervor and unction by three hundred members of Parliament, who then rejoiced in daily converts to the mixed objects of their motley crusade. "No Annexation and protection to manufacture" is the "Church and horned beast interest" of the Boston Whigs, as enunciated by Mr. Webster. "The protective power" he cries out with more than Peelian ardour, "carrying us onward to honour and renown, is the Constitution of the United States. I am for taking the Constitution," (viz: 50 or 100 per cent. on English manufactures,) "as our fathers left it to us, and standing by it, and dying by it"—*i. e.* in defence of protected calico and twist. Talk of Professor Schonbein!—What is explosive cotton to the patriotism of New England? So ingeniously does the speaker weave together his two topics, that it requires some critical investigation to make out whether it is the tariff or General Taylor he is talking about. We think, however, we are safe in putting the following burst under the custom-house division of the subject:

"Gentlemen, has not the Constitution given this people great prosperity? Has not our commerce flourished under it? Has it not made our flag respected and honoured in every sea on earth? Has it not fostered our manufactures? Where would the country have been without it? Where would our own Massachusetts have been without it? Not the Massachusetts that she now is, I will not, I cannot, contemplate—I cannot endure to turn my eyes to the state of things consequent to an abandonment of the Constitution."

And this "Constitution" is the "rallying point" of the American Whigs. Well, we shall see. England has set an example which the United States should be the first to follow. We have taught them how to deal with such "Constitutions," and such "rallying points." Perhaps Mr. Webster, like his English model, will not be the last to unteach his own disciples.

From the New-York Legal Observer.

SPEECH OF MR. JAY, IN THE MATTER OF GEORGE KIRK, A FUGITIVE SLAVE.

John Jay, in support of the demurrer.

May it please the Court:—I approach the argument of this case with great diffidence, for it involves constitutional questions of deep interest to the citizens of this State, as well as the personal liberty of this fugitive boy; and I fear that, deeply as I may feel upon this subject—and I do feel deeply—my inexperience, and the very brief time afforded for preparation, will prevent my doing it justice.

But, while I doubt my own abilities, I have perfect confidence in the constitutional strength of our position, that George is entitled to his immediate discharge—and however imperfect may be the argument I shall have the honour to present to this court, I am well assured that its imperfections will be supplied by the learning of my associate, and by the soundness of your honours' judgment; and I venture to trust that the arguments I am about to offer will be listened to with kind attention, and that your honours will allow them the full weight they may deserve from their force of reason or of authority, without reference to the imperfect manner in which they may be presented and enforced.

The circumstances which have led to the application now made to this court are happily of unusual occurrence in our free city, and have naturally given rise to great excitement among our citizens. The brig Mobile arrived a few days since from Savannah, and while lying at the wharf, soon after her arrival, a fierce struggle was observed to occur upon her deck between a coloured boy and three men, who attack, overpower and iron him—and, for the purpose of escaping observation and avoiding interference, the vessel was then loosened from the wharf and anchored at a distance. On the petition of a coloured man, the circuit judge granted a writ of habeas corpus, returnable before this court; and the officer who was directed to serve it found the boy, bruised and handcuffed, on board of the brig. Theodore Buckley, master of the vessel, makes a return to the writ, claiming to hold him under his restraint, as a fugitive from service in the State of Georgia, under and by virtue of the laws of which State, the return alleges he is held to labour and service as the slave of Charles Chapman, of Bryan county, in the said State. That he covertly and privately, against his knowledge and consent, with a view to escape from such service, secreted himself on board the brig Mobile, of which the respondent is master, while lying at the port of Savannah. That the said vessel sailed from the said port on the 13th October instant for the port of New-York, without any knowledge on his part of the concealment of George on board said vessel: that while on the high seas on her said passage, in latitude 34 degrees 10 minutes, North, and longitude 75 West, the said vessel being at the time without the jurisdiction of the State of Georgia, to wit, on the fifteenth of October, 1846, the said George was discovered concealed in the fore steerage of said vessel, covered with a sail; and on being questioned, admitted that he was the slave of the aforenamed Charles Chapman, and that he had secreted himself on board of said vessel with a view to effect his escape from the service to which he was lawfully held, under and by virtue of the laws of said State of Georgia, as the slave of the said Charles Chapman. The respondent further returns, that the State of Georgia is an independent and sovereign State, having full power and authority to govern and regulate all matters of internal polity not surrendered to the Government of the United States by the terms or spirit of the Federal Compact. That for more than one hundred and fifty years past, the state of Georgia, as a colony of Great Britain and in connection with her sister colonies, has continually and without interruption possessed a certain domestic institution called Slavery; and that in and by the said institution so held, possessed and enjoyed by the said State, by usage and of right, and under the paramount laws of the land, that is to say, under the Constitution and laws of the United States, certain persons, of whom the said George is one, have been and are held and owned as property, and protected and guarded by the laws of said State.

Then comes an averment, which, as the return has once been heard by the court, I need not read at length, for it does not touch the legal and constitutional points involved in the case: that divers malicious and evil disposed persons, in other States, have assailed the institution of slavery, and have organized a system of robbery; and in disregard of God's word, have encouraged the escape of divers slaves from the possession of their lawful owners; and that in consequence of such wicked acts and designs, the State of Georgia, in discharge of its duty, has enacted various laws, three sections of which are embodied in the return.

The *first* gives authority to any person to apprehend and secure any runaway or fugitive slave, and directs such person, within forty-eight hours after such taking and securing, to send the slave to the master, if he can be ascertained; otherwise, such person to be construed and taken as the husbander of the runaway.

The *second* imposes the penalty of imprisonment in the penitentiary, at hard labor, for a term not exceeding two years, upon any person convicted of concealing or hiding any slave to the injury of the owner; and gives to the owner, in addition, the right to recover damages by civil suit. And the

Third, which is probably supposed to apply to the case in hand, is in these words: "§ 35. If any person shall remove or carry, or cause to be removed and carried away out of this State, any slave or slaves, or out of the county where such slave or slaves may be, without the consent of the owner or owners of said slave or slaves, any person so offending shall, on conviction, be sentenced to undergo an imprisonment in the penitentiary, at hard labour, for any period of time not exceeding seven years."

And the respondent closes with an averment under oath that Charles Chapman of Bryan county, Georgia, is interested in the detention of the said George. To this return the counsel for the boy have put in a general demurrer, upon which issue has been joined, and the question now to be decided is, whether upon this statement of facts, admitting them to be true, Captain Buckley has a right, here to detain him as a slave.

From the language of the return in reference to the State laws of Georgia, and the setting forth of the sections of certain acts bearing upon the subject, it is evident that the respondent relies upon their recognition by this court, as in part at least establishing his right to hold George in custody. It is of importance therefore to settle in the first place, by what law this case is to be decided. If this boy is to be deprived of his freedom, it must be done by due process of law, and while we admit the averment in the return that Georgia is an independent sovereign State, capable of making laws for the goverance of her own citizens—and extending in their operation over her own territory, we claim that New-York also is a sovereign and independent State, with the like capacity as regards her citizens and her territory; that the laws of Georgia, however binding may be their force within her own limits, are beyond those limits a dead letter, and that this court in determining whether this boy is to be restored to freedom or remanded to slavery, are to be governed solely by the laws and institutions of this State, modified and restricted as they are in certain specified cases by the Constitution of the United States and the laws of Congress in conformity thereto, without the slightest reference to the institutions or laws of Georgia, under which it is contended by the respondent that he is held to labour as a slave.

The first points then to which I will ask your Honors' attention are these—that the common law of England prevails in this State, as in others of our confederacy—that the common law recognizes no slave and no slavery, and that the comity of nations does not extend to the recognition by the courts of non-holding States of the system of Slavery or of the artificial rights and duties supposed to grow out of it, and that consequently the respondent can have no right to hold this boy in slavery in the city of New-York, unless that right is given to him by the Constitution of the United States; and these several points I will briefly present in their order.

Slavery formerly existed in this State, and during the period of its colonial history in a rigorous and revolting form; but after the era of our independence, as Mr. Chancellor Kent observes, the principles of natural right and civil liberty were better known and obeyed, and domestic slavery speedily and sensibly felt the genial influence of the revolution.*

The first act of amelioration was passed in 1781,† and gave freedom to the slaves who served in the army; the second in 1788,‡ was intended to prevent the further importation of slaves, and to afford facilities for their manumission. In 1799 the legislature commenced a system for the gradual abolition of slavery,§ which was enlarged and improved in 1810.‖ In 1813 the previous acts were digested anew,¶ and at length in 1817,** provision was made for the complete abolition of Slavery in about ten years thereafter.

After the arrival of that period, the 4th of May, 1827, domestic slavery became extinguished in the State and unknown to the law, except in the case of slaves brought within our borders by persons as travellers, and who did not reside or continue here for more than nine months. This provision which was adopted in 1817, as an act of comity on the part of the State, was abolished by the repealing act of May 25, 1841, which wiped from our statute book the last trace of domestic slavery as recognized by State authority within our borders, and the controlling principles of the common law in reference to human liberty were restored to their original purity, unshackled by partial legislation.

That the common law of England belongs to us as it belonged to our fathers before the separation from the mother-country, will scarcely be questioned.

Chief Justice Ellsworth, in one of his earliest decisions in the Supreme Court, said, "the common law of this country remains the same as it was before the Revolution.

Chief Justice Marshall, in the case of *Livingston, v. Livingston*, said, "when our ancestors migrated to America they brought with them the common law of their native country so far as it was applicable to their new situation, and I do not conceive that the Revolution in any degree changed the relations of man to man or the law which regulated them."

Mr. Duponceau, in his "Dissertation on the Jurisdiction of courts in the United States," says, "I consider the common law of England the *jus commune* of the United States," and Chief Justice Taylor, of North Carolina, in the case of *the State v. Reed*,†† said, "a law of *paramount obligation to the statute* was violated by the offence—*common law* founded upon the law of "nature and confirmed by relation."

The decisions of the federal courts abound in recognitions of the common law, asserting its paramount binding power,‡‡ and the entire system, so far as it is applicable to our situation and government has been formally adopted by the Constitution of this State, as it has been by the constitution of Massachusetts, New Jersey and Maryland.§§

Now what is the common law of this State in regard to slavery?

The best evidence of the common law is to be found in the decisions of courts of justice; and when we turn to these sources to discover what it declares in this present case, we find that it knows no slave and no slavery, and that its principles annihilate slavery wherever they touch it. It has been well called a universal, unconditional abolition act. Wherever Slavery is a legal system, it is so only by statute law, and in violation of common law. The declaration of Lord Chief Justice *Holt*, that, "by the common law, no man can have property in another," is an acknowledged axiom, and based upon the well known common law definition of property—"The subjects of dominion or property, *are things* as contradistinguished from persons."

This was definitely settled in the famous case of *Somersett*,‖‖ a case familiar alike to the student of law or of history.

Somersett, as your honours will remember, was a negro slave, and had been carried by his master from America to England, and there confined until he could be sent to the West Indies. He was discharged by the court of king's bench, on habeas corpus, after a very able and elaborate argument, and the decision of the judges in his case has ever since remained unshaken.

Lord Mansfield then declared—and that declaration of itself would be a sufficient answer to the claim of respondent, that this court should here regard this boy as a slave because he is made such by the laws of Georgia—"The state of Slavery is of such a nature that it is incapable now of being introduced by courts of justice, from any principles natural or political; it must take its rise from positive law: the origin of it can in no country or age be traced back to any other source—a case so odious as the condition of slaves must be taken strictly."

"In consequence of that decision," says Mr. Christian, the editor of Blackstone, "if a ship laden with slaves was *obliged* to put into an English harbour all the slaves onboard might and ought to be set at liberty."¶¶

In the more recent and well known case of *Forbes v. Cochran*,*** the court of king's bench decided that thirty-eight slaves, who had escaped from a plantation in East Florida to an English ship of war on the high seas, became thereby free. Mr. Justice Holright, in his opinion, said, "The law of Slavery is a law *in invitum*, and when a party gets out of the territory where it prevails, and out of the power of his master, and gets under the protection of another power, without any wrongful act done by the party giving that protection, the right of the master, which is founded on the municipal law of the place only, does not continue." And Mr. Chief Justice Best declared—"Slavery is a local law, and, therefore, if a man wishes to preserve his slaves, let him attach them to him by affection, or make fast the bars of their prison, or rivet well their chains, for the instant they get beyond the limits where Slavery is recognized by the local law, they have broken their chains, they have escaped from their prison, and are free."

In the case of *Knight v. Wedderburn*,* tried in Scotland, in 1778, it was argued, in behalf of the claim of Mr. Wedderburn to the services of his slave, whom he had brought from Jamaica, that Knight was still a slave, that the right of property would be sustained in every country where the subject of it might come, and that the *status* of persons attends them wherever they go. But the court decided that the dominion assumed over the negro under the law of Jamaica *being unjust*, could not be supported in Scotland to any extent.

So that, in all these decisions, the fact that Slavery in the British colonies had been established and then existed by the authority of Parliament, did not prevent the judges from entering into an examination of the character of the system and pronouncing it immoral and unjust; and at the time when they declared the law in the case of *Somersett*, hundreds of slaves, brought from the West Indies by their masters, were held as such in England, and were by that decision made freemen. So that the fact so particularly stated in the return to this writ, that Slavery has existed for one hundred and fifty years in Georgia by legislative enactment, and that its existence is now recognized by the Constitution of the United States, affords no reason whatsoever why this court should regard its character with greater leniency than if Slavery were unknown in the United States, and this boy were claimed under colour of some foreign law.

That Slavery is a mere municipal regulation, and founded upon and limited to the range of territorial laws, was distinctly stated by Judge Story in the case of *Prigg v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*,† on the authority of the cases I have cited; and I may say that, as a lawyer, I have felt no little pride in the fearless integrity exhibited by the courts generally in the slaveholding States of this country, in maintaining the dignity and purity of the common law in its regard to human liberty, whenever the positive law of the State allowed them to apply it; and I have been more than once reminded, in reading their decisions, of the pleasing testimony borne by Sir William Best, in the case of *Forbes v. Cochran*,‡ to the superior morality of the English judges in reference to Slavery and the Slave-Trade, to that of the economists and politicians who recommended to the legislature the protection of the traffic.

In the case of *Marie Louise v. Marot*,§ decided in Louisiana, Mr. Justice Matthews declared, that the fact of a slave having been taken by her owner to France, where Slavery was not tolerated, operated on her condition so as to produce immediate emancipation.

"That such is the benign and liberal effect of the laws of that State," added the judge, "is proven by two witnesses of unimpeachable character; and being free for one moment in France, it was not in the power of her former owner to reduce her again to Slavery."

The same doctrine was re-affirmed in *Smith v. Smith*,‖ and is now the settled doctrine in the slaveholding States of the Union—and whether the slave is taken by his master to New-York or to France makes no difference. Mr. Justice Story, in his conflict of laws, after referring to Somersett's case as establishing the principle that as soon as a slave lands in England he becomes *ipso facto* a freeman, and discharged from his state of servitude, says: "Independent of the provisions of the Constitution of the United States for the protection of the rights of masters in respect to domestic fugitive slaves, there is no doubt that the same principle pervades the non-slaveholding States in America."¶

Before proceeding to show that under the Constitution of the United States the respondent has no right to restrain George of his liberty, it is proper to show that the comity of nations cannot be applied to this case so as to allow this court to recognize, even were they disposed to do so, the domestic institutions and laws of Georgia, upon which the respondent relies. It will no doubt be strenuously urged by the learned counsel, that although the laws of Georgia may not be admitted here *ex proprio vigore*, they ought to be admitted *ex comitate*—that if the general principle be sound, that distinct nations should cherish friendly relations and encourage frequent intercourse, and mutually recognize for mutual convenience each others laws, such is peculiarly the duty of these States, members of the same family, and bound together by a common compact. I admit the truth and force of the reasoning in regard to all proper objects of comity—but I deny that this is one of them—for we must remember that the object of our fathers in adopting the Constitution, and forming a more perfect Union, was to establish justice and secure the blessings of liberty, not to strengthen and uphold Slavery.

There are many well settled principles in regard to the comity of nations which forbid its application here.** In the first place, comity is not to be exercised in a doubtful case, and where doubt exists, the court will prefer the law of its own State.†† Again, comity is practically founded on the consent of nations, and the need of reciprocating good offices.—Mr. Hargrave, in his elaborate argument in the Somersett case said, that most of the European States, like England, disregarded the *lex loci* in respect to slaves, and gave them entire liberty—and Mr. Chancellor Kent remarks,‡‡ that there is no such thing as the admission of slaves or slavery in the spirit of the civil law, or of the laws and usages of the West Indies, either in England or in any part of Europe. In the case of *Fulton v. Lewis*,§§ decided in the Maryland Court of Appeals, which was another instance of the high integrity of which I spoke as characterizing many decisions in the slaveholding States of the Union, the slave of a St. Domingo master who had fled to that State, was pronounced free, although he had been sold since his arrival. There is no such consent of nations, therefore, on the subject of Slavery to form the basis of comity.

In the next place, there is no room here for reciprocity between New-York and the Southern States. We have no slaves, thank God, whom—

Mr. Blunt, (counsel for Captain Buckley.) Do you mean to say there are no slaves in New-York.

Mr. Jay. I do say so, certainly, and I cite Mr. Chancellor Kent as my authority.

Mr. Blunt. As a matter of fact, then, I would have you to know that there are slaves in this State.

Mr. Jay. If there are slaves in this State, I did not know it, and I am sorry to learn it. Mr. Chancellor Kent expressly declares, in the chapter I have quoted, that Slavery is extinguished in New-York, and such was the intention of the law.‖‖ If any slaves remain unemancipated it is through some unforseen exception; but even if the fact be as the learned counsel states it, the few aged slaves that may be left do not afford an opportunity for a reciprocal comity. But we have free coloured men, in regard to whom the Southern States do not practice the comity which is our due. In defiance of the provisions of the Constitution of the United States that the citizens of each State are entitled to "all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States," their rights are openly violated by the laws and practice of the South. Their colour is made presumptive evidence of their being slaves, and free coloured men who are called to the South by business or family claims, are arrested as fugitive slaves. The burden is thrown upon them, when far from home, and perhaps friendless and penniless, of proving their freedom, and in default of such proof they are liable to be sold, and some of them have been sold, under the laws of these States for the payment of their jail fees.

Again, the merchants of New-York and New England find it convenient to employ persons of colour on board of their ships. The moment their vessels touch at Charleston, or Savannah, or Mobile, or New Orleans, they are searched, those free persons are taken out and imprisoned by public authority, but at the expense of the Captains, until the vessels are ready to sail. These proceedings are greatly to the detriment and prejudice of the owners' interests, and of the commerce of the nation, as well as a gross violation of the rights of coloured seamen.

(*Remainder next week.*)

* 20 Howell's State Trials, 3 note.

† 16 Peters, 611.

‡ "It (slavery) is a relation which has always, in British courts, been held inconsistent with the Constitution of the country. It is matter of pride to me to recollect that, whilst economists and politicians were recommending to the Legislature the protection of the tariff, and Senators were framing statutes for its promotion and declaring it a benefit to the country, the judges of the land, above the age in which they lived, standing upon the high ground of natural right and disdaining to bend to the lower ground of expediency, declared that slavery was inconsistent with the genius of the English constitution, and that human beings could not be the subject of property. As a lawyer, I speak of that early determination, when a different doctrine was prevailing in the Senate, with a considerable degree of professional pride."

§ 9 Lous. R. 473. 2 Barn & Cress., 470.

‖ 13 Lous. R., 441.

¶ Conflict of Laws, 92.

** See this subject ably discussed in the printed argument of Mr. Loring, in the case of the *Commwealth v. Aves*, decided in Massachusetts, in 1836.

†† Story's Conflict of Laws, 29, 271.

‡‡ Kent's Com. 203.

§§ Hen. & John. Rep. 564.

‖‖ The national census of 1840, shows four slaves in New-York. These were probably brought to the North by Southern masters, who were then allowed to hold them in this State for nine months. The State census of 1845 does not return a single slave.

* Kent's Com. 255.

† Act of March 20, 1781, ch. 1, sec. 6.

‡ Act of February 22, 1788, ch. 40.

§ Act of March 29, 1799, ch. 62.

‖ Act of March 30, 1810, ch. 115.

¶ Act of April 9, 1813.

** Act of March 21, 1817, ch. 137.

†† Hawkes' N. C. Rep. 454.

‡‡ See the subject of the common law and slavery ably discussed in Mr. T. D. Welds' learned essay on the power of Congress over the District of Columbia.

§§ 1 Kent's Com. 472.

‖‖ 20 Howell's State Trials, 79. Loft's Reports, 1. Hay. State Tr., xi 339.

¶¶ Black. Comm. 425, in Not. Ed. 1798.

*** 2 Barnwell & Cresswell, 448.

THE SLAVERY QUESTION.

We mentioned last week the fate of Mr. Burt's amendment, and the vote thereon. The Intelligencer has since published a full report of the debate, and we make some extracts from the speech of Mr. Burt:

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill to establish a Territorial Government in Oregon, and the immediate question being upon the following amendment submitted by Mr. Burt:

"Insert in the 12th section, after the word 'and,' and before the words 'shall be subject,' the words 'inasmuch as the whole of the said territory lies north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude, known as the line of the Missouri compromise.'"

Mr. Burt rose and addressed the Committee. He said that the interference of Congress in the domestic interests of the States, at all times an exciting subject, was, in the present juncture of the national affairs, and in the form proposed on the present occasion, a subject of transcendent importance to his constituents, and, as he solemnly believed, to the South and the whole country. A crisis approached with rapid and fearful strides. He told the North he told the South, that it could not be evaded. It must be met. If they shrank from it to-day, it would come with renewed force to-morrow. He believed that it was unmanly to desire its postponement for an hour. He could not hope to speak to this question. He did not desire to speak to it without the earnestness which befitted the occasion; but he trusted he should repress all passion and all excitement. He never reflected upon the resolutions of the last memorable and eventful session of Congress, without a sense approaching to awe, of the moderation and wisdom which averted a war from the United States and Great Britain, by the happy and peaceful adjustment of their protracted and long-pending controversy about limits on the northwest coast of this continent. It was a signal triumph of moderation and justice over passion and pride. He knew no instance in ancient or modern history of a nobler example to the nations of the earth. By that treaty, they acquired a territory west of the Rocky Mountains, extending from the parallel of 42 degrees to the parallel of 49 degrees of north latitude. They obtained a country whose area was sufficient for the formation of four or five States of the medium size. It was a country which possessed many and important advantages.

Mr. Burt proceeded to discuss the question whether Congress had a right to impose an interdict of Slavery upon the Territory of Oregon. He maintained that it had not. He relied on the condition with which Virginia ceded the Northwest Territory to the United States, to show that Congress had no right to pass the ordinance of 1787 by which Slavery was prohibited in that Territory, and which ordinance was now proposed to be extended to the Territory of Oregon. He called the attention of the House to a series of resolutions passed in 1804, at a convention of the representatives of the people of the Northwest Territory, when Gen. Harrison was Governor, and others passed by the Indiana Council in 1806, both asking a suspension of the anti-slavery section of the ordinance. He urged, therefore, that the ordinance was contrary to the wish of the people, as well as an usurpation of power on the part of Congress. He then referred to the Missouri compromise:

But he proceeded to the next precedent to the history of the legislation of the country. That, as might be anticipated, was the memorable Missouri compromise. The United States acquired from Spain a territory which comprised the States of Louisiana, Missouri, Arkansas, and Iowa, and a portion of the territory northwest of Iowa, over which he saw a proposition had been submitted to organize a Territorial Government. That territory was very nearly large enough for a State. Now, that was the first foreign territory acquired by the United States. He begged leave for a moment to advert to the history of the acquisition of that territory; and if gentlemen would trouble themselves to investigate that history, they would find that the acquisition was demanded by the West. They would find that there was great excitement in the West in regard to the navigation of the Mississippi. The opening of the navigation of that great river to the commerce of the West was the motive for the acquisition. He had not been able to discover that Slavery had formed any inducement to the acquisition of the territory. He ventured to say that that did not enter at all into the motives which led to that acquisition. It was, in fact, a concession to the West, as tending to open the navigation of that magnificent stream, the Mississippi. Annoying and vexatious restrictions on the navigation of that river had been imposed by Spain, whilst the territory belonged to that kingdom. Now, after that glance at the history of the acquisition of the territory, let them inquire what were the conditions of that compromise, known as the "Missouri compromise." In the 8th section of the act of 6th March, 1820, it was provided:

And be it further enacted, That in all that territory ceded by France to the United States under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude, not included within the limits of the State contemplated by this act, Slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted, shall be, and is hereby, forever prohibited: *Provided always*, That a person escaping into the same from whom labour or service is lawfully claimed in any State or Territory of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labour or service as aforesaid.

That was a compromise. A compromise for what? A compromise conceding what? Why, that in all the Louisiana territory north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude Slavery should be forever interdicted. What should be done below that line? Was there any guaranty for Slavery? Was there any security that it should exist there? Was there any attempt to interfere with the sovereign rights of the people *below* that line to determine that question for themselves? That was the compromise. He did not know upon what ground of constitutional authority that Missouri compromise could be vindicated. He assured them that it could be defended on no ground of concession of mutual rights. It sought to interfere upon a subject which it seemed to him every one admitted belonged exclusively to the States; a subject over which Congress had no power to establish regulations or restrictions; to abolish, or in any way to interfere with, against the wishes of the States. It involved a question which, he remembered, had been raised by the gentleman from New-York (Mr. Grover,) in that hall a few days ago—that of the States to control and regulate the importation of slaves from one to the other. Upon that subject he (Mr. B.) would adduce an authority which, he doubted not the gentleman would venerate. He begged to ask the attention of that gentleman, and that of the House, to the opinions of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Mr. Burt here quoted the opinions of Justices McLean, Taney, Story, Thompson, Wayne, and McKinley, that the right to regulate the sale of slaves within their own borders belonged to the States themselves, and not to the General Government. We omit his remarks upon the Annexation of Texas, and give his closing remarks:

But what were the circumstances which now surrounded them? A man from the Southern States had been blind, who for the last three years had not seen that a fearful conjuncture was coming upon the country. He (Mr. B.) had not occupied his seat ten days before he had espied its rapid approach. He begged very briefly to advert to some of those circumstances. Three years ago, the incendiary publications, disguised under the form of memorials and petitions to Congress, were excluded from the hall—that barrier had been broken down. One of the States of the Union—the State of Massachusetts—a State influential as well on account of her high intelligence as her wealth—solemnly, by her Legislature, proposed to disturb that compromise of the Constitution which provided the basis of representation in Congress. That was defeated. During the last session of Congress, when a proposition was made in that hall to furnish the Government of the United States with the means of concluding a treaty of peace with Mexico—when an appropriation was asked for the simple purpose of concluding a treaty of peace with Mexico—a Democratic representative from Pennsylvania rose in his place and moved that interdict of the ordinance of 1787 upon any territory that might be acquired from the enemy in Mexico. The country was at war. Everybody desired that a peace should be obtained if practicable. Yet that blow was inflicted by a Democratic hand! He remembered, upon that occasion, that his worthy and estimable friend from Indiana, moved the proposition of the Missouri compromise; and he remembered that that proposition was voted down. He remembered, moreover, that when the bill to provide the loan sought by the President was introduced in that House, gentlemen from the Eastern States, and some from the Western States, on the opposite side of the House, denounced, with a loud voice, the entire proposition; and so one of the provisoes of the gentleman from Pennsylvania was engrafted on that bill, and they were the first to turn round and vote with alacrity for it. During the present session of Congress, an honourable member from the State of New-York, (Mr. King,) had deemed it his duty, or at least had thought proper to attempt the introduction of the same proposition—the proposition with the proviso moved by the gentleman from Pennsylvania. The House refused to suspend the rules for the introduction of that proposition by only some two or three votes. He told them, and he told the South, that that proposition was to come! He told them that it would be moved, and he did not see that it would not prevail. What was the language all around him in that hall? What was the language of gentlemen from the North, and from the East, and from the West? That the South need not hope ever again to see a slave State formed of any territory that might be acquired by that Government, whether by treaty or by conquest.

Mr. Sawyer, (in his seat.) Has the West said so?

Mr. Burt had said "gentlemen from the West." [A laugh.] He could not say that it was the unanimous voice of the West. He hoped that it was not. He had in his mind's eye many patriotic exceptions. But they were told that the line of the Missouri compromise must be abandoned. They were told so in that debate. The gentleman from Maine, (Mr. Hamlin,) the other day concurred, as he (Mr. B.) understood him, in announcing the determination of what was called "the North." If these facts—if these declaration swere not inducements to the South now to move there, he would confess that the South had lost its spirit. If, with these admonitions and threats ringing in their ears the South postponed for an hour this question—he would not speak for others, but his mind was made up. He told the South that, although the Annexation of Texas provided for the admission of slave States to be formed out of the territory below 36 degrees 30 minutes, no such State would be admitted into the Union. He looked to the vote upon the admission of Texas; he looked to the vote upon the admission of Florida; he looked to what was the universal sentiment of the North, as announced by representatives from those quarters on the floor, and asked that, if the South did not now move, when would it shake off its sloth and lethargy? Would it wait till their dwellings were in flames? Should they wait till their hearthstones were drenched with the blood of their wives and children? He trusted not. "Now's the day and now's the hour." He appealed to every gentleman who had been contemporary with him in that Congress, that he had never raised his voice on the subject of Slavery but on one occasion. He called upon them from the North and West to bear him witness that he never had introduced that subject into debates in that House. But, though he had never introduced it, he, for one, had nevers hrunk from it; and he had thought it his duty not to be silent now. He told the North that the South was united upon this question. He told the North that there was no traitorous son from the South, there or at home, and he had a steadfast faith that the South would be found equal to its destinies, through whatever peril or confusion it might be its fate to encounter.

SPEECH OF MR. PETIT, OF INDIANA.

Mr. Petit, (democrat) of Indiana, replied to Mr. Burt, and we think his speech worth copying entire. There is much in it that is false, and that especially on the character of the negro race, and the effects of slavery upon its immediate victims, which show that the speaker wants light upon the subject, or was more fearful of going too far with his overseers than of talking palpable nonsense and falsehood. Like all men who attempt to defend slavery he contradicts himself continually. He can't help doing so. His own sense of right and wrong is continually in conflict with his sense of expediency. Slavery is wrong, and a curse—a heavy curse—he could not deny it; he asserts it again and again. Then it cannot be a blessing. White is not black, nor black white, however expedient and prudent it may sometimes be for time-serving politicians to say so. They will see things in the right light by and by—when they can't help it. They know always how far they may venture to go. We commend Mr. Petit's speech nevertheless to our readers. It is worth reading:

Mr. Petit, of Indiana, said he had not risen to speak at any length to the question before the House, or to answer, to any great extent, what was called the argument to which the committee had listened, but merely for the purpose of setting himself right. He should, however, take some notice of what had been said by the gentleman from South Carolina; but, as to any argument about the power of this Government to exercise the proposed control in the territories of the United States, it was all on one side of the question.

When the question came up at the last session on the provision which had been moved by a gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Wilmot) to the two millions bill, Mr. P. had been represented by the editor of the New-York Tribune, of the 18th of August, as voting in the negative, together with his colleague, Mr. Wick. Such had not been the fact. Mr. P. had been opposed to the whole bill, and he was not satisfied with the reasons assigned in its favour. He had two reasons for voting in favour of "Wilmot's proviso:" one was, that he thought its insertion would make the bill odious to the South, and so help to prevent its passage. And the other reason was, his own settled opinion that Congress should not allow the entrance

had so ably preceded him, had, he must say, done to him and to the whole country a great favour in one part of his speech, if in no other: and that was by informing them, in measured terms, and carefully weighed, that, by the Oregon treaty with Great Britain, we had acquired a large extent of territory. If this was true, Mr. P. was most happy to learn the fact. He had till now been grossly deceived on the point; for he had certainly thought that we had lost an immense territory, and an invaluable treasure! And why so? Because he, with the rest of the country, had been told by the President, and had it confirmed by some of the ablest of his Cabinet, that our title to the whole of Oregon up to 54 degrees 40 minutes was clear and indisputable, and had been proved so by irrefragable facts and arguments. And yet, instead of acquiring new territory by the treaty, that to which we had so clear a title had been cut down till it extended only to 49 degrees, besides all south of that parallel on Vancouver's Island, and our surrender to British subjects of an incumbrance in the navigation of our waters. This was Mr. P.'s view of the matter. He thought, instead of acquiring territory, we had surrendered a vast amount of it, and so thought the country.

But (said Mr. P.) "let by-gones be by-gones." The question had been settled by the constituted authorities of his country, and he should submit.

But he wished to say a word or two on the subject of the Indiana resolutions, to which allusion had been made by the gentleman who preceded him. Before the date of those resolutions a large part of the Northwest Territory had been organized into the large and magnificent State of Ohio. The resolutions which had been read were passed in Indiana while it remained still a territory, under the government of William Henry Harrison. He was then vice-regent and vice-royalty, and what not. He held everything there within his own hand, and disposed of all public property within the territory, and all private, too, pretty nearly. He could, with the utmost facility, get almost any resolutions passed which he pleased. But Mr. P. had had a peep behind the screen, and he wanted gentlemen to hear what had been the sequel of all that.

General Harrison came from Virginia, (and Mr. P. had no feelings toward him but those of great respect and kindness,) and, as a Virginian, he entertained a strong desire for the suspension of the article alluded to in the ordinance of '87. There was then a contest going on for the election of a Delegate to Congress. General Harrison took the stump in 1803 in favour of Mr. Randolph, of Virginia, (not Roanoke John) who was then the Attorney General of the Territory. He threw himself into the breach in favour of Randolph, because he hoped, if his candidate should be elected, to procure the suspension of the obnoxious article, or, perhaps, its total repeal. Who had been his opponent, and what was the result? A man who had served his country on that floor, and served the State as its Governor; a man whom some gentlemen here would remember, and with the highest esteem; he meant Jonathan Jennings, a man who had been educated and nurtured in all the feelings which were prompted by the free heart of good old Pennsylvania. He was then quite a youth: and this beardless boy became the people's candidate against the Governor's candidate, Mr. Randolph—backed, as he was, too, by all the influence of the General Government, General Harrison himself taking his part upon the stump. The leading question to the contest was that of Slavery or no Slavery; adherence to the ordinance of '87, or suspension of it? And the result was that Randolph did not get one-third of the votes cast. No: the people of Indiana, whatever resolutions might have been passed, never had been in favor of the introduction of Slavery.

But further: considered as a legal question, it had been the received opinion, both in the courts and among the people, that the ordinance of '87 was of binding force on the law of the land. In fact, there never had been a doubt upon the subject. Could there be any well grounded doubt of it now? There could not.

The gentleman from South Carolina had gone over the whole history, the rise and fall, the grandeur and decline of this proposition of compromise, by which Slavery was left to exist in one part of the Union and its extension into another part prohibited. No man could possibly be further than Mr. P. from the remotest desire to disturb any State in its full possession of the institution of Slavery. He never would tolerate any such interference for one moment. He rejected and opposed every such attempt. Slavery or no Slavery was a question which States must settle for themselves. It was their own concern, and this Government could not intermeddle with it. The States were sovereign within their own territories.

But let gentlemen reverse the proposition: let them see if the argument would not work both ways. The sovereignty over all the Territories of the United States rested in this Government. Here was the seat of sovereignty over all territory out of the States, and which the States jointly owned.

Mr. Burt asked if he had rightly understood the gentleman from Indiana to say that the sovereignty over the territories of the United States rested in Congress? The Constitution delegated to Congress, it was true, the right to dispose of those territories, and to make rules and regulations for their government. But did the gentleman mean to say that the sovereignty over them resided in that House?

Mr. Pettit said he did insist, and meant to say, that the sovereignty over the territories owned jointly by the States resided in the Federal Government; he did not, of course, mean that it resided in the House of Representatives alone. But in the Government of the United States, as distinguished from the Government of the States, the sovereignty did reside over all the territories of the United States without the limits of the States. The provision of the Constitution was this: "The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States or of any particular State." The Territories were the "property belonging to the United States," just as much as a public vessel, a cannon, or other material thing. They were all Government property, and as such, under the dominion of the United States Government, and of none other. And it was expressly declared that "nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States or of a particular State." He said that the sovereignty over this territory was in the United States, because it was the property of the United States; and where the property was there was the sovereignty, unless it had been surrendered. Wherever the reality was there was the sovereignty, the right to govern, unless that right had been surrendered up. But here gentlemen might get up and ask whether this Government did not own land and other property within some of the States? To be sure it did; but there it had surrendered the sovereignty to the States so far as the General Government was concerned.

Mr. Rhett (not having heard what Mr. Pettit said last,) put the very question to which he had alluded, and which he had answered in advance.

Mr. Pettit repeated, and insisted on his position. In the case of Government land in a new State, Congress, by the admission of the State, had recognized it as a sovereign; and then the sovereignty of the United States had been surrendered as to property over which it had extended so long as the State was only a Territory.

Where, then, was the violation of her Constitution in prohibiting Slavery in a Territory? Gentlemen need not clamour so loudly about their constitutional rights. The prohibition of Slavery in a Territory, if Congress thought fit to prohibit it, was neither more nor less than the exercise of a sound discretion. They had as much right to say that Slavery should not exist within a Territory, as to say that it should. If it had a right to say the one, it had an equal right to say the other; though here, he admitted, there was one point of difference; and that was, that Congress could not ordain that Slavery should exist—it could not institute it—for it had no right, by its laws, to create a slave. It could not establish Slavery, but it might prohibit it. This power, like the power to manage the fleet or an army, ought certainly to be exercised with prudence. How, then, having the power, ought Mr. P. to vote in this matter? He held that considerations of the public good ought to outweigh every lesser consideration.

He laid down this position: that no nation could ever become great or wise, who acted without regard to the influence exerted upon it by surrounding nations. We could not live in the enjoyment of civilization and of civil liberty, and not, at the same time, be influenced more or less by the public sentiment of surrounding nations. It was due to them that they should be treated with the same comity and the same courtesy that one gentleman owed to another; and a nation so situated might not outrage the rights of all the world, in managing even its own concerns. Even among the Governments of Europe, if very great and extravagant cruelty should be exercised by any one monarch, after remonstrance, the surrounding nations would undertake to interfere, and would say to the oppressor, you must either quit this, or quit your throne.

But some gentleman might say that, in providing about territory to be acquired from Mexico, we were counting our chickens before they are hatched: that a dark cloud had arisen in the South, and was now lowering with portentous aspect over our prospects in that quarter. This might, perhaps, be so; but he trusted that the gallantry of our brave soldiers would soon dispel it. But it was altogether too late in the history of the world for one nation to make war upon another, confessedly for the purpose of turning free territory into slave territory, and chain and manacle slaves therein. All Europe would stand by and say, "Hands off, you have, we admit, causes to justify you in going to war, but we will let you know that if you design to pollute vast masses of territory now free with the foul blot of Slavery, you may find an interference that will be of no trifling character."

[Here several gentlemen started for the floor. But Mr. P. said, have patience, gentlemen, I'm not done—I have but just begun. [Laughter.] If I had the power of Joshua, I would command the finger of that clock to stand still till I ordered it to go again. Boy, bring me some water."]

Mr. P. said that he fully agreed in sentiment with the gentleman from Alabama, (Mr. Dargan,) who had spoken the other day as to the acquisition of more territory. He had much rather we should annex none, than that we should create more slave territory. With his voice and consent, nothing should be done which went to tolerate the extension of Slavery beyond the limits it now occupied, believing, as he did, that it was a curse to the world.

The limited time allowed him, forbade his going into a history of this institution in ancient time, to prove how heavy a curse it was. Not that the slave was injured. Not at all. He had none of that sickly sympathy with the negro which some gentlemen seemed on all occasions to display. He was not one of those who delighted to harp forever on the wrongs of the black. He would not equalize his condition with that of the white man, or give him like social privileges, much less the same political rights.

Here some question was put to Mr. P. from behind, which the reporter, seated on the opposite side of the hall, could not hear, nor did he see what gentleman propounded it.

Mr. P. replied. I am told that that is a question we cannot touch. Just take them into your own States, if you have a mind to. [Much laughter.]

He had been saying that he had no favour for that fawning, disgusting feeling of mock sensibility for the blacks. On that subject he would go as far as the most tenacious Southron. He fully believed that their slavery in this country had proved a blessing to them, (that was, if they were capable of receiving much blessing.) He was persuaded that they were infinitely better off than if they had remained with their ancestors in the wilds of Africa. Though he opposed Slavery as a thing wrong in itself, and as very injurious to the white man who permitted it, yet, as far as the slave was concerned, he did not doubt that the condition of master and servant in the slave States, was one far better than he would ever have known in the land of his fathers. On that subject he had no hesitation whatever.

Yet there was another view of the subject. Though at the first blush, Slavery seemed hard—and so it might, at first blush, seem hard that any one man should control another as good as he—yet, it did not follow that it was, when examined in all its bearings, as great an evil as it at first appeared. A man might touch a torpedo without inflicting any injury upon the fish—the injury would be upon his own arm. Just so it was in the case of Slavery; it was not the slave that was injured; it was the master. It reminded him of an old song about a dog, who "went mad to gain his private ends," and then bit a man; but the man suffered little injury; "the dog it was that died." Oppression, even severe oppression, proved often, in the inscrutable wisdom of Providence, a benefit to the oppressed, and an injury to the oppressor. Would gentlemen, who were so ultra on this subject, tell him how the north of Europe had been civilized as rapidly as it had been? How the arts and laws, and learning of Rome were carried into those regions as soon as they were?

The incursions of Julius Cæsar and of other conquerors sent home multitudes of the natives to the halbert in Rome, to pass under the yoke, and be sold as slaves. There, in the land of their captivity, they learned the arts and civilization of their conquerors, and carried them gradually back, as they escaped or wandered away to their native country. So it happened in the north of Africa. When Scipio Africanus dragged hundreds and thousands of prisoners in chains to Rome, he was preparing the humanizers and civilizers of all the African coast, which afterwards was so long the seat of learning and the arts.

Just the same process was now commenced on the western coast of that dark continent. The slaves of this country had already started for the land of their fathers. They would have done it long since but for the interposition of wide tracts of sea. They could not run or walk there, as Roman slaves had done to their native haunts; but philanthropy had transplanted them, and how were the wilds of Africa beginning to smile under benefits obtained from this now-favoured continent, and which were received by the improvers while in a condition of slavery. He did not say how far blacks were capable of improvement. He did not believe in the equality, the mental equality, of the black and the white races. He had no idea that the negro ever would be equal in this respect to the Anglo-Saxon race of men. Their intellectual structure was inferior; they had more of the animal and less of the mental; yet, in some things, their condition was capable of being somewhat advanced.

But while Mr. P. held these views, and felt no hesitation in expressing them, he would under no circumstances incorporate one rood of territory into this Union which was ever to be covered with slaves. Not because he thought the slaves would be injured, but because he believed that Slavery operated as a blight and a curse to his owner. Wherever its footsteps trod, and the white man had slaves to nurse and flatter and fear him from infancy to old age, it proved his curse. Its effects were enervating to the master, and had an effect on the character of the population which was productive of misery. The torpedo touch benumbed the man, and the palsy went through his mind, his circumstances, and his whole condition.

If Mr. P. believed that imposing the restriction contained in the ordinance of 1787, was a violation of the Constitution, he would be the last man in that House to advocate it, but he deemed it only a prudent exercise of the power of sovereignty inherent in this Government. But they were told if this thing should be enforced, there would be a dissolution of the Union. Well, said Mr. P. my Southern brethren, let me say to you what Milton puts in the mouth of Adam, when addressing Eve. I cannot remember the poetry, but the sentiment is this: "If you are tired of your connection with me, coercion will only be the more effectual means to sunder us. Go, you are as free as air; if you love not me and your home, find one elsewhere."

In saying this, however, I desire to be understood as speaking for myself alone. This question will come up, and be decided here. If it shall turn out that the majority are opposed to the imposition of any restriction in the extension of Slavery, I, and those who think and act with me, do not tell you we will have a dissolution of the Union; nothing of the kind. We shall be found a law-abiding, Constitution-loving, quiet, united people. We will not separate from you. No; we will hang together as long as there remains one cord to tie us. But what do we hear from you? You say that the moment this is attempted, you will draw the sword, and sever the Confederacy, because the majority will not submit to be ruled by the minority. If this is your spirit, and this your determination, if you are determined to defy the majority, then go, and the sooner the better. If we find ourselves in the minority, we shall abide by the Union and the Constitution, and if we are in the majority, we shall do the same. If you separate from us, who will rue it first? I advise you to consider that question well. Who will rue it first?

We have been told that in the South there lowers a black portentous cloud, charged with ruin to this Union. If so, then I say—

> Though that dark cloud be thunder's worst,
> And charged to crush me—let it burst.

But no, Sir, no; it cannot be that a handful of negro's wool is to sunder that strong, that sacred cord which has thus far bound our fates together. Are the joint achievements of many a well-fought field all to be forgotten for a handful of negro's wool? Let me tell you that that Marathon through which Phillip hoped to overwhelm Greece, did but prove to the Greeks an immortal monument. No; you cannot go to your constituents and talk to them, safely, of demolishing such a fabric for such a cause. No, Sir; they will hang you first; hang you higher than ever Haman hung. It cannot be done. It will not be done. In the first place, let me say to the South, you cannot dissolve this Union; and, in the next place, you do not want to dissolve it; and in the last place, if you did, you never would do it for any purpose of this miserable kind.

I once heard an esteemed friend of mine from old Virginia; yes, from that mother of States and of statesmen, as she well deserves to be called; I heard an eloquent gentleman from that good old State—and I may say without disparagement to the many eloquent men it contains, that I never heard one more so—I refer to Henry A. Wise—and it was on the question of repealing the 21st rule against the reception of abolition petitions, say that he had at length concluded to withdraw all further opposition to the repeal of the rule, but should suffer it in future to be dispensed with. Mr. Holmes, of South Carolina, warmly opposed the measure; but Mr. Wise said, I am solemnly assured that, if I will consent to the repeal of this rule, the thing shall go no further. They pledge themselves to me that the reception of these petitions shall be so managed as to do no harm. And I say that, in view of the growing weakness of one section of this country, and the growing strength of the other, that I, for one, will rely upon their pledge, and let the rule be repealed. And then he added, in words that yet ring in my ears, "Virginia is fallen, and the whole South dwarfed." No man ever spoke a truer word, or spoke it more effectually. Was it not true? What a lamentable picture was this, in a period so short when compared with the life of nations. How young to have it said of States, once the noblest and the brightest in this Union, the first of them is fallen, and the rest are dwarfed!

There must be some cause for such a result. In the days of the Revolution, Virginia was the first, the leading State in this Union; and yet now I may point her to New-York, to Pennsylvania, to Ohio, yes, and even to my own State, which has this day more white population than Virginia can boast. What can be the reason of this change? Is she not advancing in wealth, in population, in all her former grandeur? No, oh no. What her own eloquent son said is true. Virginia is fallen and the whole South is dwarfed. There must be some moral, some physical, or some political cause for it. It is not a physical cause.

Mr. Leake here broke in. He thought he had heard something said by the member about Virginia being fallen. He would ask him, did Indiana pay her debts?

Mr. Pettit. Ah! For an answer to that very astute inquiry, I will refer the gentleman to—the newspapers. But I forget; it is said that, in one district of Virginia, no newspapers are taken. [A laugh.]

When interrupted, he had been saying that there must be a cause for this sate of things—a cause, either physical, moral, or political. That it is not a physical cause I am satisfied. Where under the sun will you find a more genial climate—a soil of more generous fertility—a clime every where more inhabitable, than in the whole region of Virginia? Where did the zephyrs play more softly on the cheek? Where did the rills murmur sweeter music? Where did the birds "their choir apply" with a more enchanting sweetness? The God of Nature, or Nature herself—at any rate, the embodiment of wisdom and goodness, has given her all manner of advantages. Greater enterprise would have removed New-York to Norfolk; greater industry would ere this have opened channels to the products and the trade of the West far easier than by the route through Pennsylvania. It was not, then, (said Mr. P.) a physical cause.

Was it a moral cause or a political cause? Without stopping to go at length into an inquiry on this point, he would say that, in his judgment, it was a combination of the two. A moral and political incubus pressed with destroying weight on the necks of one of the noblest people that could be found, and so galling was it that, to get free from its crushing weight, many had sought other homes. It had retarded all the growth that would otherwise have been the effect of her physical resources; it had almost forbidden her progress to that greatness for which Nature designed her. This was the true cause of her want of labour, of enterprise, and of successful industry—he would not say her want of public men, nor would he deny that to the general statement of her actual condition there were not bright exceptions. But did not this show why "Virginia was fallen and the whole South dwarfed?" How could either have happened but for this?

Yes, said Mr. P. you have touched the torpedo, and the stupifying shock has fallen on the great mass of your population. Suppose Northern Virginia should take my advice; but she will scorn it. I shall give it, however, or at least take the liberty of talking a little to her. I say, then, to the sons of Virginia, so illustrious in every period of the history of this Republic, do you hope to add to all your laurels, do you anticipate a new addition to your fame, in the eyes of the world, of the Union, or even of your own people, by spreading Slavery in this land? Do you think that loud threats of the dissolution of this Union is likely to hand down your names with honour to posterity? Let me tell you that the man of gigantic talent, of warm and generous heart, of the most expansive benevolence to his race, does but fix a blot on the bright escutcheon of the honor of his State by taking such a course. On the contrary, let him seek to erase the disgraceful, the melancholy stain which other hands have fastened there. Then his course will lead—not to Haman's gallows, not to the condemnation of all good men, not to the reproaches of posterity, but to a name written on the topmost stone of the highest monument that fame shall rear to the memory of Virginia's sons. Then shall future sons and daughters, inheriting the blessed fruits of your efforts, rise up and call you blessed forever. Then shall strength return to your hands, and prosperity and wealth to your borders. Then shall you find your entire condition revived, renewed, re-invigorated, disenthralled.

You will say all this is none of my business. But it is my business. We are charged, to some extent, with ad authority and a care that reaches over this whole Union, and in relation to some things we share a common influence and a common sovereignty and power.

Mr. Leake here moved that the committee rise.

Communications.

Rochester Fair.

ALTON, WAYNE Co. Jan. 13, 1847.

FRIEND GAY:—In reading the Liberator a few days since, I was much interested by the account of the Anti-Slavery Fair in Faneuil Hall; the untiring perseverance and energy of the women of Massachusetts has at length met with a rich reward, and deep must be the satisfaction with which those, who a few years since started the first Fair in Boston, with its limited variety and number of articles, now look upon the rich and abundant display in the old Cradle of Liberty; the fruits not only of their own industry, but of the ready hands and warm hearts of the dwellers in different and distant places, not only in this country but on the other side of the Atlantic. As they contribute the thousands they now raise yearly from the proceeds of the Fair, for the support of a cause which has for its object the salvation of their enslaved sisters from degradation and insult, they must feel in their inmost hearts the truth of that saying: "It is *more blessed* to *give* than to *receive*." But a few days since I attended a Fair in Rochester, and the degree of success with which the efforts of those who have laboured long and earnestly in the midst of discouragement and trial to make the necessary preparations, was such as to give grounds of hope for future efforts, and some reward beyond their expectation for past endeavours.

The number of those who could bring willing *hands* to the work, was small, and consequently the labours of a few were increased; but a donation from Boston of a box of goods, gave them encouragment, a hall was procured, fitted up with evergreens, and the tables spread. The hall was tastefully decorated, and on one side the motto "No union with slaveholders," wrought in evergreens, the undying freshness of which seemed emblematic of the lasting truthfulness of the motto in its true sense, appeared conspicuous to every eye. During the three days through which the hall was kept open, the time passed away pleasantly in the cheerful interchange of Christmas greetings and good wishes. It is not in Rochester as in Boston, where the splendid display of articles, exceeding anything to be seen elsewhere, charms crowds of curious beholders, and the labours of pen, and press, and tongue, for years have awakened many minds to the greatness of the cause; yet the attendance was better than was expected, and all were interested. One of the evenings the scene was varied by a short address from Wm. C. Bloss, in his usual rich and agreeable manner, full, too, of a spirit of sympathy for enslaved humanity, which must make the speaker feel sadly out of place in the midst of the hypocritical pro-slavery negro haters in the Hall of the State Assembly, at Albany. C. L. Remond made a few remarks another evening, which were listened to with much attention, and he was followed by Wm. W. Brown, who spoke with earnest feeling of a mother near and dear, in bonds, and of the time when the chain was on his own limbs, and reminded his hearers, too, that he was yet a slave, even in the Empire State. The whole receipts of the Fair were about $180, leaving nearly $100 after paying expenses. The awakening of public feeling gives promise of increased success in future, and an effort will doubtless be made to make the Rochester Fair an annual gathering of those who choose to do something for the slave's deliverance from bondage, and his master's release from the heavy yoke of iniquity, by purchasing the contributions of those who feel that while "woman's heart is bleeding," they cannot be idle. It is to be hoped and desired that ere another year comes round the women in the villages and towns, the quiet farm-houses of Western New-York may awake to a feeling of the duty to furnish something from their abundance. That the wailings of bereaved mothers, whose daughters are torn from them to go into a bondage worse than death, the heart-breaking groans of those crushed and toil-worn daughters may come home to their kind bosoms, and while they ply the busy needle, a voice may whisper in the recesses of their hearts to cheer and inspirit their efforts, "Remember them in bonds as bound with them."

Two days after the Fair, commenced the annual meeting of the Western New-York Anti-Slavery Society. The resolutions passed at the meeting, and some sketch of the proceedings has doubtless ere this, reached you. I can only express the opinion of many, by saying that no meeting ever yet held in Rochester has done more, if as much, for the spread of radical Anti-Slavery. The Court-house was obtained from the authorities, and the attendance respectable during most of the day sessions, and was large in the evenings. The exposure of the iniquity of the Mexican war awakened much interest; the mad career of the Government is opening the eyes of the people, and we witnessed in the meeting the attendance of those who have seldom before visited the Anti-Slavery gatherings, but are now drawn by a consciousness of the danger of their present position, and the truthfulness and importance of our views. The Evangelical Alliance was also discussed by J. C. Hathaway and myself. The Rev. Mr. Church, of Rochester, one of the delegates, was invited to attend and defend the Alliance, but did not feel it, *convenient* to do so. Some of his friends were present and although invited repeatedly to speak, and correct any errors or misrepresentations, did not do so. The last evening of the meeting, C. L. Remond gave a lecture on that base prejudice so peculiar to the land of the free which robs the descendants of the African race of their equal rights as men and brethren, to a large and deeply interested audience.

Quite a number of subscribers were obtained for the Standard, and on the whole, the result of the meeting was encouraging. The signs of coming agitation increase. God only knows what the end will be, but the mad and wicked career of this nation cannot be long. Fixed and eternal laws by which sin is its own scourge, must ere long shake this nation to its very centre, and it may be, unless repentance comes right speedily, rend it asunder or cleanse it from its sins by a baptism of blood.

Your friend,
G. B. STEBBINS.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 28, 1847.

The Thirteenth National Anti-Slavery Bazaar.

In making up our account of the thirteenth annual effort in behalf of the Anti-Slavery movement, we are obliged to acknowledge with a joyful pride in the land of our ancestry proportionate to our sorrow over the land of our birth, that the brilliant beauty and success of the occasion were more owing to Great Britain than to America. Not that it was less than usually indebted to the American friends, but to the English, Scottish, and Irish ones more.

It should also be considered, that the exertions of our beloved friends, HENRY C. WRIGHT, FREDERICK DOUGLASS, JAMES N. BUFFUM, and GARRISON, instead of being made to awaken American sympathy for suffering and indignation against wrong, have been devoted to arousing the public mind of the three kingdoms to its responsibility as the leader of the world in the career of freedom and humanity, for an increase of effort in the promotion of those sacred principles. The pecuniary result of the effort was FOUR THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED AND TWENTY FIVE DOLLARS.

It commenced on the 22d of December, and continued through the first of January—11 days. The expenses amounted to $837.34, more than half of which was paid for freight and duties, and the rest in advertising, notifying, door-keeping, gas-lighting and warming, service, and labour of various kinds, table coverings, ornamenting the Hall, &c. These items are not published, because most of them are so diminished by the gratuitous services of friends of the cause that the statement would be of no other practical use than to express pecuniarily the amount of obligation the occasion is under to them; while to express it in this way would be to depreciate its true value. The friends, most interested and aided, prefer, therefore, not to place a *money* value, on what money can never represent—the devotedness that is willing to perform severe and unwonted labour, to save the funds of the cause. The last mentioned item—for example, decoration of the Hall, surpassingly beautiful as it was, and expensive in appearance, cost but ten dollars, by the effectual co-operation of the friends in LYNN, WEYMOUTH, WALPOLE, CAMBRIDGE, WEST-ROXBURY, with those in Boston. WEYMOUTH in a special manner deserves the credit of being the leading town on the occasion. The names of those who co-operated have each been inscribed in a copy of the Liberty Bell, which awaits their acceptance at the Anti-Slavery office as a memorial of an occasion deeply interesting to all. The refreshment room and table both were amply and gratuitously supplied, and a list was kept of the donors, but we have been requested by several not to take up room in publication, as the circumstances of time and place were such as to certify of themselves that all such donations were safely received. The towns of Lynn, Boston, Hingham, and Dorchester, were most prominent in this department.

Too much cannot be said of the rare beauty and attractiveness of the articles received, in testimony of devotion to our cause. First, came Bristol and its environs, with its charming pictures, papeterie, Tunbridge ware, and tapestry; next Glasgow, with its valuable Scottish manufactured goods and exquisitely fancied articles of dress and ornament. Edinburgh followed, with its thousand varieties of knitted, netted, woven, and embroidered work, and its beautiful books of flowers—memorials at once of historic interest and botanic skill. Cork did not fall behind, with its magnificent tapestries, and its sea plants, every book of which brought £1 to the treasury of Freedom. Dublin, with its literary curiosities, unparalleled writing materials, rare engravings, wrought cambric, and splendid embroidery, laid us under even more than the accustomed obligations to renewed devotedness, by the fine choice of its most acceptable gifts. Perth, with its beautiful infants' hoods and dresses; Belfast, with its exquisitely neat and valuable variety; Carlisle, with its shawls, biscuits, old oak-work and fancy-work; Bridgewater, with its seven boxes, its doll's cabinet work, and well chosen variety; Kirkcaldy, with its welcome donation of money, hastily collected for want of time to appear in any other shape; Sheffield, with its cutlery; Manchester, with its *papier mache* and ivory, all contributed most liberally to the success of the Bazaar.

The letters accompanying these valuable testimonies of devotion to our cause are all so replete with excellent suggestions, and with facts and remarks which refute the thousand stale objections which the advocates of Slavery are ever making to the exercise of British benevolence and justice in behalf of our degraded nation, that we hope to receive permission hereafter for their publication. Indeed, if we should commence a weekly paper to be called "the Bazaar Gazette," there is valuable matter enough on hand in connection with the last Bazaar, to fill fifty-two numbers. How hopeless, then, in the midst of the embarrassment of so much riches, to say all that ought to be said, and to express what is so deeply felt of grateful and affectionate acknowldgment, in a single quarter sheet, which hardly affords sufficient room for a dry list of the donors' names. We are obliged to be so brief as to become uninteresting, in order that we may not fail to find room for the needful.

At the quarterly meeting of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society the following expression of sentiment was unanimously adopted:

1. Resolved, That our assurances of the deepest and tenderest emotions of gratitude be conveyed to all those beloved friends of the cause of freedom in Great Britain, who have co-operated with us so devotedly for its promotion, by their warm reception of Garrison, Wright, Douglass, and Buffum, by their generous donations to the anti-slavery treasury through the medium of the Bazaar, by their faithful rebukes of the Free Church and the Evangelical Alliance, and by their most judicious and effectual action in forming the ANTI-SLAVERY LEAGUE.

2. Resolved, That all those noble and self-sacrificing efforts on the part of the British friends, shall stimulate us, in whose behalf as servants of the slave they have been made, to a more energetic and unreserved devotedness.

3. Resolved, That the members of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society will co-operate as heretofore, with the Committee of the Bazaar, for the FOURTEENTH time at the close of the year 1847, on the understanding that the funds shall be appropriated as heretofore, to the Massachusetts and American Anti-Slavery Societies, to sustain the true moral standard of "*No Union with Slaveholders*;" this society being convinced that it is only by the exhibition of that noble renunciation of wrong before the people, that energetic action against Slavery is to be obtained, while it offers at the same time, the only means of securing the half-way action of half-way minds.

4. Resolved, That we hereby assure our British co-adjutors, that our best endeavours shall be used during the year, to awaken a depth of interest, and extent of co-operation on this side of the Atlantic, which shall so greatly increase the amount of American purchasers and contributors to the next Bazaar, as to show by far the larger proportion of its results, to be clearly from American sources; and we pledge ourselves to this effort, the rather because in so generous a rivalry, the success of either is the gain of both; and we know that our transatlantic friends will rejoice at the increase of our efforts, though they assure us their own shall not decrease.

5. Resolved, That the intimations we have received in every letter from abroad, of an intention to continue to aid us in this holy enterprise, are met on our part with a corresponding determination to live and die in the service of freedom.

6. Resolved, That our high sense of the devotion to our cause, evinced by the women of Edinburgh, in the noble Address which has been signed by 10,000 of their number, shall be communicated to them not merely in resolutions of thanks, but in actions; and we bid the women of Edinburgh to watch the progress of the cause in the United States, in the confident assurance that they will see a marked measure of rapidity in its onward march, dating from the time that their address shall reach the minds and touch the hearts of the women of America.

7. Resolved, That the assurance of our warmest sympathy waits on H. C. Wright and Frederick Douglass, our beloved fellow-labourers now in Great Britain; and that while we thank the British friends for their generous co-operation in the recent Bazaar, we remember no less gratefully the devoted labours that have awakened British sympathy and aid.

Elevated above the various beautiful objects which drew attention to the Edinburgh table, was placed the silver tea-service—the testimonial of the ladies of Edinburgh to Mr. Garrison, which thousands thronged to see and admire.

The impressive address of TEN THOUSAND women of Edinburgh to the women of the United States, was read to a crowded audience by Mrs. FOSTER. It will be presented to many an audience hereafter, and do much to awaken our women to a sense of their responsibilities on the question of Slavery.

In walking round the Hall, it was most touching to observe the grand co-operative power of the cause. The poor with the rich, the maimed and blind, with the gifted and the beautiful, the highly and the lowly-born, the Calvinist and the Unitarian, the Quaker and the Episcopalian, the Northerner and the Southerner, the black and the white, the bond and the free, sickly suffering infancy with vigorous manhood and womanhood, the Whig, the Democrat, and the Liberty party man, each the best of his class, were all to be found here in person, or represented by inscriptions on their respective gifts. It was a lesson to the partisan and the sectarian; to the tyrant and the demagogue. *This* was indeed a FREE CHURCH. *This* was in truth an EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE; for were they not all gathered together in the name that gives deliverance to the captive? Then, surely, by His own promise, there was He in the midst of them.

One beautiful article was inscribed thus: "The gift of one who can do but half what he at first proposed, because the claims of suffering Ireland are to be satisfied; but the causes of Irish suffering cannot be reached till the prejudices created against American institutions have been removed by abolishing Slavery. To serve Ireland, therefore, I must help the American Abolitionists."

The following inscription, placed in the hand of a miniature market woman, supposed to be going from Kingswood, Gloucestershire, to Bristol market, is peculiarly instructive to those who declaim so eloquently against anti-slavery effort, on the allegation that "the slaves are better off than the British peasantry:"—

> "I *be* a poor, hard-working body 'tis true;
> I works hard and lives hard, I knows that I do;
> But I works hard for they as I loves to my heart,
> And if I don't do't, *they 'ont make my back smart*.
> We struggles together, my old man and I,
> To settle the young 'uns before we do die.
> What we gets is our *own*, as I says; and we're *free*,
> And happen what 'ool, tis a comfort to me,
> That *nobody never can tear me from he!*"

Among the Bristol offerings was one with this notice attached to it:

"This small piece of lace was wrought by the little girl whose name it bears, in the following way. She obtained from her mother a half-penny in lieu of one week's sugar. With this she purchased two farthing balls of cotton, and from these produced the lace. An instance of self-denial worthy of imitation."

SARAH ANN WHITE,
KINGSWOOD INFANT SCHOOL, NEAR BRISTOL.

"She hath done what she could; and it shall be told as a memorial of her." The rich man who gives thousands may not have done so much.

Many infant and charity schools in Bristol and Bridgewater sent gifts most precious to the hearts that received them.

Some very beautiful and valuable donations yet remain in our charge. Among these is an admirable copy of an interior, after Drolling's picture in the Louvre, pronounced to be the best copy of that celebrated work of art ever offered in this country. It was generously presented to the Bazaar, in a splendid frame, by Mr. Eddy, of New-York, and its merit cannot fail to find a purchaser. It may be seen by application at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill.

The Rev. Mr. Hanson, recently from Africa, presented a specimen of the manufacture of the Coast—such as it is capable of producing, unassisted by civilization, either in texture, woof, or colour. It is a royal robe, woven for the king of Dahomey, by whom it was presented to Mr. Hanson, and is of a blue and red stripe, not inferior to, though differing from, the products of English and American machinery. It would have been a blessing to Clarkson, at the time he found it necessary to convince the British Parliament that the negroes were men, by exhibitions of their ingenuity. It should be placed in some Museum by the care of the curious or philanthropic.

The subscription for the purchase of the Blackletter Bible, commenced by Dr. Francis, Mr. Stetson, Mr. N. P. Russell, and others, for the purpose of placing it in the Harvard Library, is not yet completed. Persons wishing to subscribe, may leave their names with Mr. Walcutt, at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill.

THE LIBERTY BELL (the 8th number,) was considered unusually good. It is, indeed, a book of testimonies. The table of contents might run thus:

Testimony of Dr. Madden, in favour of Freedom.
Testimony of Dr. Bowring, against American Slavery.
Testimony of Stephen C. Phillips, against the Rendition of Fugitives.
Testimony of Wendell Phillips, against Union with Slaveholders.
Testimony of Dr. Follen, against Despair.
Testimony of John Quincy Adams, against the Mexican War.
Testimony of Mrs. Follen, to the name of Clarkson.
Testimony of George Combe, against American Slavery.
Testimony of C. S. Cabot, against Misrepresentation.
Testimony of James Russell Lowell, against a Worldly Life.
Testimony of Dr. Snodgrass, (a Virginian,) against Southern Slavery.
Testimony of George Armstrong, against American Inconsistency.
Testimony of Parker Pillsbury, against a Pro-Slavery Church.
Testimony of M. W. Chapman, to the Character of Abdy.
Testimony of David Lee Child, against Pro-Slavery Taxation.
Testimony of Thomas Clarkson, against the American Union.
Testimony of W. L. Garrison, to the Anti-Slavery Enterprise.
Testimony of Dr. Davy, to the value of British Emancipation.

Many other admirable testimonies are combined in the volume.

The beautiful ornamental title page, was the unpurchased testimony of J. R. Foster, an artist and a man of true genius for art, against the horrible system that disgraces our country.

We can only desire for this little volume, that it may promote the principles and fill the treasury, while it not only cheers the friends of the cause, but disheartens the enemies; for this last is also, (in the quaint old expression of Wynkyn de Worde, which forms the motto,) "a reason *why* the Bell ben rongen—to the end that wycked spyrites should be abashed and flee." "Such," he adds, "doubte moche, when the bells ven rongen."

Friends from both sides of the Atlantic testified, on this occasion, to their sense of the excellence of the American leader of the Anti-Slavery cause. He leads in such a wise, as the most republican advocate of equality cannot but sanction, and which royalty must equally approve. Royalty and republicanism alike, must *needs* follow *him who goes before*. Scattered among the foreign contributions were leaves of richly watered silk and satin, on which were printed the following words:

"A TRANSATLANTIC WHISPER."

"Our hearts are with you, encouraged by the lovely and the patient spirit of

THE UNDAUNTED GARRISON."

On a white satin streamer, which ornamented a gift of confectionary, from Lowell, was a similar inscription.

Beautiful and highly valued contributions were sent to the Bazaar from Ohio, Western New-York, New-York city, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Portsmouth. From Hill, New Hampshire, came a lot of Morocco work, of exquisite neatness, which was instantly disposed of. From Massachusetts, the same list of towns as last year, might be presented, but, in too many cases, heretofore, the acknowledgment due to one or two individuals, has reflected an undeserved credit on these towns. It has, therefore, been thought best this year, to name only the towns where there has been a good degree of co-operating effort. These are:

Boston,	Cambridge,
Lynn,	West Roxbury,
Salem,	New Bedford,
Weymouth,	Dorchester,
West Brookfield,	Stoneham,
Concord,	Westminster,
Dedham,	Plymouth,
Hingham,	Chelsea.

Many individuals ought here to be gratefully named, had they not requested the omission of any public notice of the gifts. They are not the less remembered by all whom they have thus effectually aided in the service of the cause.

The following communication, coming in so strong contrast with the attitude taken by the majority of American Baptists, is deeply affecting to us:

To the Managers of the Anti-Slavery Bazaar, Boston, United States, America:

DEAR FR

1 small parcel for John F. Coles and Maria Weston Chapman.

Address and Signatures from Bridgewater, England, to Bridgewater, Massachusetts, on the subject of Slavery, (forwarded to Rev. Claudius Bradford.)

Package of Mr. May's Sermon, on the Rights and Condition of Women.

GOODS AND MONEY RECEIVED FROM GREAT BRITAIN, FOR THE 13TH NATIONAL A. S. BAZAAR, AND DISPOSED OF AGREEABLY TO ORDER.

1 case from Joseph Ferguson, Carlisle.

1 do. from ladies of Carlisle, through Jane D. Carr.

From Elizabeth Pease, by hand of William L. Garrison, five sovereigns.

A half-crown piece—donor unknown.

1 case from Sheffield, (in care of Wm. L. Garrison.)

1 package from Manchester, (by Wm. L. Garrison.)

1 small box from Bristol, (by Wm. L. Garrison.)

1 do. from Mrs. Ashurst.

7 cases from Bridgewater, England, through Lucy Browne.

1 large box from Bristol, containing contributions from Liverpool and other places.

1 trunk of dolls, &c. from London, by Miss Sturge and Mrs. Bevan.

1 case from Cork, by Miss Jennings.

1 do. Glasgow, by Miss Paton.

1 do. Dublin, by R. D. Webb.

1 do. Belfast, by Geo. Pim and M. Webb.

1 do. Edinburgh, by Mrs. Welsh and Mrs. Wigham.

1 do. Perth, by Jane Deans Taylor.

From ladies of Kirkcaldy, by hands of Wm. L. Garrison, £10.

An invoice has also been received from Mr. Bishop, Essex. But it is supposed, the goods not having been received, that they did not reach Liverpool in season for transportation.

LIST OF DONORS.

Axminster.

Mrs. Penman.

Barnstable.

Mrs. Walker.

Bath.

Mrs. Cadman, Miss Nias,
Miss E. Davy, Mrs. Parkes,
Mrs. Godfrey, 3 Misses Parkes,
Mrs. Joiner, S. Weeks, [Mrs. Parke's servant.] Saw-Close Girl's
2 Misses Solly, School.
Mrs. March, Mrs Saxton,
Miss Saxton,

Birmingham.

Miss H. Carpenter, Miss F. Tindal,
Mr. S. Carpenter, Mrs. H. Hunt,
Mr. T. N. Gilt, Wm. James, apprentice ca
Mrs. H. Tindal, binet maker.

Bridgeport,

Rachel Chailes, house keeper.

Bristol.

Miss Acland, Mrs. Armstrong, [member of
4 Misses Alexander, the Ladies A. S. Society.]
Master & Miss Armstrong, Mrs. M. Brock, [cloth fac-
2 Misses Attiwood, tory.
Mrs. W. Baker, Mrs. Button's and Miss
Miss Bateman, Kempis school, [8 young
" Baxter, ladies.]
Mrs. Blue, Eliza Dunn, (Mr. Eastlins
Mr. Bryant, cook.)
" Baker, Wm. Dunn, (apprentice
Miss L. Bronser, shoe maker.)
Miss C. Burges, Mr. Downing, (foreman at
2 Misses Browne, Blind Asylum,)
2 " Carpenter, 3 Misses Evans (2 orphans,)
Hannah Champney, M. & S. Foot (green grocers'
Miss Carpenter's pupils, (8) children,)
2 Misses Capper, Miss Gregory, (shopwo-
Miss Castle, man,)
Mr. Cooper, Alfred Gourney and 3 Misses
Mrs. Cooper, Gourney,
Miss Coombs, Miss Garland, (straw bon-
Miss Cobb, net maker,)
Mrs. Ditchet, Mrs. Houlson, (school-mis-
Mr. Davis, tress,)
Miss Dunsford, Theodore Hunt and 2 Misses
Mr. Desprez, Hunt,
2 Misses Duck, Mrs. and the Misses Hallam
Mrs. Ellis, Mrs. Hawkins, (school-mis-
" Emery, tress,
" Evans, Elizabeth Johnson, (Mrs.
Mr. Estlin, Evan's servant,)
Miss Estlin, John Jones, (brush manu-
" Fingel, facturer,)
Mrs. W. Fox, Mrs. Jenkins, (wife of a
2 Misses Farmer, turner,
2 " Ford, (1 blind,) Mrs. Jennings, (school-mis-
Miss A. Fry, tress,)
Mr. J. Fry, Jr. Mrs. Jaques, (linen draper,)
Mrs. Fry and family, Ann Kedney (Mrs. Carpen-
Miss Tripp, ter's servant,)
Mrs. C. B. Tripp, Elizabeth Kingdom, (Mrs.
Mr. Frank, Evans's servant,)
Rev. T. & W. Springfield, Mr. Lewis, (master of Col-
Mr. Gordon, ton's school,)
Mrs. Griffiths, Harriet Maggs, (Mrs. Car-
2 Misses Goodhue, penter's servant,)
Mrs. Grace, Wm. Naish, (trunk maker,)
4 " Gundry, Susanna Naish, (cloth fac-
Rev. R. Gibson, tory,)
Miss Elizabeth Green, Ann Orchard. (Mrs. Est-
Miss E. Howell, lin's servant,)
Miss Hill, Mrs. Ovens, (member of
" Hain, ladies com.)
" Hendley, Miss Parmiter, (member of
Miss A. Hills, ladies com.)
" S. A. Handford, Mrs. Pickering, (dress-mak-
" Mary Harding, er,)
" C. Hamlen, Wm. Shepperd, (butcher's
2 Misses Hayworth, boy,)
Miss Hitchins, Mr. Senmington, (house
Rev. Wm. James, painter,)
Miss Jones, Eleanor Saise,
Mrs. Kentish, Edward Staples,
Miss Knight, Miss Shute,
Miss Lonsdale, Mrs. Schimmelpennink,
Miss Lean, Miss Summers,
Mrs. Lang, Miss Stock,
Miss Lang, 2 Misses Skinner,
Miss Lewis, 2 Misses Sturge,
Miss Maddy, 3 Misses Thomas,
Mrs. Michell, Miss Themball,
E. S. Matthews, Mrs. G. Thomas,
Miss Matine, Mrs. A. Thomas,
Hannah Newman, Mrs. T. Thomas,
Mr. Augustin Prichard, Mrs. C. Thomas,
Miss Peacock, Mrs. Tripe, (member of la-
Mrs. Pope, dies com.)
Mrs. Pratten, Miss Tripe, (Secretary to
Mrs. Philip, ladies com.
Miss Powell, Miss Treadwell,
Miss Percival and pupils, Mrs. Tothill,
2 Misses Pewter, M A Thomson, (servant,)
Mrs. Parsons, Mrs Torraney, (wife of a car-
Miss Parsons, penter,)
Mrs. W. Polglase, Miss Veitch,
Miss C. Powell, Miss Vrankin,
Miss E. Palmer, Mrs White, (school-mistress
Mrs. J. Rickards, Elizabeth White,
2 Misses Rickards. Mrs Waterman,
Miss Reed, Mrs and Miss Wratherman,
John Richards, Miss Wright,
Mrs. Bickman, Mrs Warren, (confectioner,)
The Misses Bickman, Mr Worsley, (blind gentle-
Mrs. Rogers, man,)
Mrs. Roper, Miss Warren, (matron of the
Mrs. J. Russell, Blind Asylum,)
Mrs. Rider, 2 Misses Walker,
Miss Reynolds, Miss Young, (upholdstress,)
Mrs. Setter, Blind Asylum, (8 male, 16
Mrs. Staples, female pupils,)
Mr. O. Smith, Lewnis Mead, Boy's Charity
2 Misses Smith, School,
Mrs. Swague, Lewnis Mead, Girl's Daily
Miss Swague, School,
Miss. F. Solly, do Boy's British do
Miss. S. B Sanders, do Infant do
Mrs S Worsley Elizabeth Williams, (serv-
About 20 friends, names ant)
not ascertained, Miss Gordon.

Neighbourhood of Bristol.—Mrs Lane, Thornbury, Misses Hughes, do, P. Powell, (School master.) do. Mis Barrow, do. S. Hoane, do. Mrs Morton, do Miss Dale, do. Miss Hodson's school, do. Friends from do. Misses Sturge, Portshead, Miss Fisher, Hensbury, Miss Waring, Shirehampton, Gloucester Dairymaid, Kingswood Infant school Miss Austin, Frenchay, Wannly Girl's school, Unitarian school, Wannly, Mr. Ames Westbury, Miss Ames

Cheltenham—Mr Furber, Mrs Gifford, Miss Gifford.

Collumpton—Mr. Davey, Rev M L Yeates.

Evesham—Mrs Davis, Misses Davis, Miss Penny.

Fulmouth—Miss Fox

Langport—Mrs and Miss Prankerd, Mrs Baghest, Mrs Edward Queckett.

Liverpool—Misses Phornley.

London—Lady Byron, Mrs G H Carpenter, Friend, M sses Lima, (orphans,) Mr W Parkes, Mrs Reynolds, and parlour maid, Mrs Sanford. Mrs Smith, Mrs Watson.

Lynton Devon.—Miss Cooks, Misses Lawrence.

Sidmouth.—Miss Carslake, Miss Leigh, Mrs Smith.

South Wales.—Mrs Crarg, Miss Dawe, Mrs Gibbon's blind lady, Mrs Griffiths, Mrs Jenkins, Misses Jerons, Mrs Stuvellyn, Mrs. Rowland, Miss Rowland, Misses Misses Strick, Gregelles, Miss Williams, Miss C. Williams.

Taunton.—2 Misses Ball, 4 Mrs. Beadon, Misses Beadon, Miss Blake, Mrs Cocks, 2 Misses Cozens, Friends,

Miss Dymond, Miss Goodland, Miss Jacobs, Miss Richmonds, (Linen Draper,) Miss Thompson, Miss Webb (stationer,) Miss Woolrige, Mr. Foyce, (linen draper,) Mrs Montgomery, Mrs Sears, (dress maker.)

Tarnbridge.—Miss Sharpe, (shop keeper.)

Warminster.—A Friend.

Warrington.—Miss Nobles, Miss S. Carpenter.

Isle of Wight.—2 Misses Cooks, Miss Duncan, Miss Giles, Miss M. A. Sayer, Rev E Kell, Mrs E Kell, Mrs Pinnock, Mrs Pring.

DONATIONS IN MONEY TO THE BOSTON BAZAAR FOR 1846, FROM BRISTOL.

		L. s. d.
Mrs. Acland,	Clifton,	1 0 0
Dr. Ball,	Clifton,	1 0 0
Miss Blake,	Bristol,	1 0 0
Mrs. Carpenter,	Taunton,	5 0 0
Messrs. Carpenter and Westley,	Bristol, London,	1 0 0
Miss Coffin,	Llandaff,	1 0 0
Mrs. Gen. Dighton,	Newland,	1 0 0
Rev. H. H. Hayes,	Lynton,	1 0 0
Mrs. Hilles,	London,	1 0 0
Mrs. J. Lawford,	do.	1 0 0
Mrs. J. L. Lawford,	Clifton,	1 0 0
Wm. Mortimer, Esq.	Melksham,	1 0 0
Mr. & Mrs. J. L. Phillips,	Birmingham,	1 0 0
Miss Philipson,	Isle of Wight,	1 0 0
Miss Kirkpatrick,	Ridmouth,	1 0 0
Charles Smith, Esq.	Liverpool,	1 0 0
Stephen Shute, Esq.	Clifton,	1 0 0
J. Symonds Esq.	Bristol,	1 0 0
Dr. Symonds,	London,	1 0 0
Philip Worsley, Esq.		1 0 0
Smaller sums from various friends,		2 16 0
Collected during exhibition,		2 0 0
		£28.16.0

EXPENDED FOR THE BAZAAR IN BRISTOL.

	L. s. d.
Stationery,	4 6 0
Music,	5 6
Printing "Voices,"	2 8 6
Engravings,	1 12 0
Tunbridge Ware,	4 0 0
Twined articles, (chessmen, &c.)	1 5 0
Minerals,	13 6
Papier mache portfolio,	18 0
Fancy articles,	17 0
Expenses of exhibition, Collection Box, &c.	12 0
Carriage of boxes,	15 10
Carpenters bill,	1 15 4
Freight to Boston,	8 7 4
	£27 16 0
Balance in hand,	1 0 0
	£28 16 0

Moneys received for the several purposes of the Bazaar, and paid to the Treasurer, F. Jackson :

West Brookfield,	$24,00
Westminster,	3,00
Stoneham,	18,00

CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED FOR THE LIBERTY BELL.

Sales of the goods after 12th Bazaar, by Mrs. S. May,	$5,00
B. M. Cowles,	5,00
J. T. Everett,	2,00
Sale of portrait, from J. R. Ames,	35,00
C. F. Hovey,	20,00
Sarah Shaw,	1,00
Mrs. Merriam,	3,00
Lucy L. Browne,	5,00
Abigail Mott,	5,00
Mary Young, and Mrs. Walker,	5,00
F. M. Robbins,	5,00
Mary Gray Chapman,	5,00
Harriett T. White,	1,00
Lois White,	1,00
Mary White,	1,00
John C. Gore,	50,00
Oliver Johnson,	5,00
H. Sargent,	5,00
Catharine Sargent,	5,00
Edmund Jackson,	10,00
Mrs. Loring,	10,00
Mrs. C. J. Smith, in behalf of the Waltham Friends, by Miss Haskell, of Chelsea,	5,00
A half sovereign from Lucy Martin, Bristol, England,	
Lucy Gates,	1,00
Nathaniel Barney,	10,00
George Russell,	10,00
Misses Dorman,	2,00
By { Henry Elwell,	1,00
Thos { L. Woodbury,	1,00
Bigwood, { John C. Webb,	
{ F. C. Mansfield,	2,00
{ S. Blair,	1,00
Warren, { Francis Mansfield,	
{ Mrs. Harmon, by Mrs. Follen,	2,00
A. T. G. Phillips,	5,00
C. C. Fields,	,50
Daniel Ricketson,	5,00
William Shew,	1,00
D. & C. Joy,	5,00

MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN,
For 13th National Anti-Slavery Bazaar.

ANOTHER PLAN FOR ABOLITION.—The Rev. Dr. Durbin, President of Dickinson College, Pennsylvania, (Methodist,) offers in the Philadelphia Inquirer another plan for the abolition of Slavery. He proposes that an amendment be made to the Constitution of the United States, by which Congress shall be empowered to make appropriations for the purchase of the slaves, and settle them on the west coast of Africa, where territory enough for five millions of people shall be procured. To say nothing of the morality of purchasing the slaves, in a body, and the right to exile a people from the country in which they were born, there are several trifling difficulties in the way, which the Rev. Doctor seems to have overlooked. He must first persuade the white people to consent to pay some hundreds of millions of dollars for a purpose for which many of them think it wrong to pay money, which many more think unwise and against their interest, and more still would not turn up a copper to effect at all.—And when this obstacle shall be surmounted, the money raised, and the coloured people bought, he has to persuade them to emigrate. It would be no easy matter, we fancy, to put four or five millions of people on board ship against their will. However, these various plans, which it seems to be getting the fashion to propose, prove one thing, namely: that the wise men are learning at last what the Abolitionists have so long been trying to teach them, that *something must be done* about this matter of Slavery.

MIKE WALSH ON PATRIOTISM.—Mike Walsh, with all his eccentricity and love of rowdyism sometimes, talks good common sense, which is no less honourable to his head than his heart. We wish we had more legislators with as much real love for the people. He discourses as follows, on the glory of war, in a recent speech in the Assembly:

He did not believe many men would leave their families to fight for $7 a month. He could not appreciate the patriotism of a man who would leave his family to the protection of a cold and unfeeling world, to fight the battles of his country. If Government could pay men $1500 a year for idling around the custom house, and electioneering for their individual benefit, certainly it could afford to pay men who fought its battles more than $7 a month. If Government wished to find volunteers it need not run round with drum and fife. If it would pay its soldiers as it did its custom house officers or its foreign consuls, it would find plenty of men willing to fight. There was scarcely a sick cripple in the world that would not go into a second Waterloo if he could go as a general.

Mr. W. would himself go as a private, with the pay of captain, (Laughter.) He had rather be President at 50 cents a day, than carry the hod for a dollar. (Renewed laughter.) The men were rewarded in the inverse ratio of their services.

MR. LA ROY SUNDERLAND.—This gentleman has been obliged to remit his intention to lecture on the subject of *Pathetism*, in this town, by threats of violence uttered against him by certain individuals in the city of Norfolk. It was charged against Mr. Sunderland, by an individual in this town, connected with the Methodist Church, that he was an Abolitionist, in the offensive sense of that term, and such a spirit of excitement got up against him in Norfolk, which threatened his life, that it was thought best by his friends that he should not stem it. We have only to say, that we have the best reason to believe that the charge against Mr. Sunderland is wholly without foundation: and we *know* that in his lectures there was nothing that had the most remote bearing on abolition. That a great moral wrong has been committed we hesitate not boldly to affirm, engendered by the same spirit that caused the multitude to call out to Pilate, *to crucify the Saviour*. The hospitality of our town has been invaded, and the letter of our National Constitution violated. The investigators of this act have a great reckoning to make somewhere. We cannot reconcile it to our duty as a man, to let this deed go unrebuked—and in the name of our town, we denounce the act that has infringed the dearest constitutional rights of an American citizen.

We believe that Mr. Sunderland would have been sustained and protected here, if his friends had not thought proper to advise his leaving yesterday in the Baltimore boat.—*Portsmouth (Va.) New Era, 16th.*

Mr. Sunderland has been well known in time past as an Abolitionist, though for several years he has been, so far as we know anything of him as a public man, an entirely harmless and reputable citizen so far as the subject of Slavery is concerned. We should have supposed that any number of certificates of good behaviour could be procured which would have placed him entirely above the suspicions of our irascible and jealous brethren of the South, if, indeed, they believe the sin of Anti-Slavery is one that can be repented of.

We speak of Mr. Sunderland, however, only as he has appeared before the public. For aught we know, he may still bear, in his private life, a plain and uncompromising testimony against Slavery. We trust that it is so, and that he was eminently deserving, according to the notions of the Portsmouth people, of being mobbed. The New Era speaks boldly. We hope it may be no less so the first time they are lucky enough to catch a real live Abolitionist in Portsmouth.

We hear of English, French, and German officers in the Mexican army, and it will take but a little heroism, to make the defence of that country the espoused cause of the chivalric, as were the struggles of Greece and Poland. If we were not American, we should certainly pray for Santa Anna's success; but as we are Americans, we pray for speedy termination of the war by conquest, and liberal treaty for the conquered territory after. We write, of course, with entire freedom from any party views on this subject.

So says the Home Journal, and it speaks, doubtless, the opinion of a large class. The chivalry of the world—excepting, always, that of the South, which is the chivalry *par excellence*—may be against us; every dictate of honour, of manly pride, of Christian virtue, and noble courage, may bid us blush for our country, but because it is our country which is thus acting the part of a marauder and a tyrant, we must offer up our prayers for her success. And this is patriotism! Heaven save us from insulting it with such blasphemy, and from becoming traitors to the cause of humanity by being such loyal patriots.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER was denied permission to speak in a Liberty party Convention held last week in Faneuil Hall. We will venture to say, that in return, one-half of the time will as usual, be occupied by Liberty party men at the Anniversary of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, which is held this week. Liberty, with these people, who impudently assume the name for their party, means liberty to intrude themselves wherever they please, and to gag whom they please at their own meetings.

TAKING A SLAVE TO EUROPE.—We learn from the New Orleans Times that a righteous decision has been made in the case of a slave in the District Court of that city. In 1836, a Madame Pigneguy went to France, and took with her her slave, Ansene *alias* Caraco. After their return the woman remained sometime in Madame Pigneguy's service; but has recently sued for her freedom and $1200 wages. The court decided that her liberty be granted to Ansene, and condemned the defendant in costs. This is the second decision of the kind that has been made in New Orleans. We wish that some slave who has been brought to the North would make a similar attempt. The decision in such a case ought to be the same, but we doubt whether the protecting care of the Constitution would not be thought by the Southern courts to be a sufficient guaranty for the rights of the slaveholders wherever it extends. The South has more respect for the freedom of France, than of New-York.

ANTI-CHURCH.—We find the following in the National Era. Will the Liberty party papers please copy? This is precisely the doctrine of anti-Church which the Garrisonians have been teaching. The writer will "go over to Garrisonism," so far as the Church question is concerned, the moment he begins to live up to his own principles:

[*Extract of a letter from Connecticut.*]

"After all, what is to become of Anti-Slavery without the Church, and what is to become of the Church in the present position? Her power for good is well nigh gone, but it is mighty for evil. A pro-slavery ministry, Church, and religious meetings, are eating out the vitals of the Liberty party in Massachusetts, and, though to a less extent, in Connecticut. I see but three courses for Abolitionists to pursue—either to remain in these churches and become pro-slavery; to come out and form new churches; or go over to Garrisonism. This reformation, with their present organization and teachers, is hopeless. I am for building anew, but who are the builders? This Church question, depend upon it, must be met. We cannot go on much longer supporting religious teachers whom we would not vote for to fill the lowest office.—We must give up our Anti-Slavery voting, or cease supporting pro-slavery ministers and churches. That's certain. We cannot maintain a political morality purer than our religion."

☞ Virginia has followed the example of South Carolina, and sent back the Anti Slavery Resolutions of the New Hampshire Legislature. The Governor of Virginia sends them to the House, in great indignation, with a special message, and the House no less indignantly discusses them, and orders them to be returned whence they came. They could n't do a better thing to carry out the object of the New Hampshire people.

☞ MR. SEVERANCE, of Maine, will accept our thanks for a coppy of the speech of Mr. Smith, of Indiana, on the Mexican War.

☞ In a debate in the Assembly on the Mexican war, for which we regret we have no room, Senator Young said:

The South had repeatedly threatened that if Slavery was agitated in Congress, they would break off and dissolve the Union. That threat had become stale, and was of no effect. They boast of their patriotism, too; but was there a single slaveholder in the rank and file of our army in Mexico? Was there one in the last war? HE BELIEVED NOT ONE.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEMORIALS.—Twenty-six from Pennsylvania have been presented by various Senators to the United States Senate. But they have a quiet way of getting rid of them now. The motion to receive them is laid on the table. Fortunately they cannot get rid of their subject so easily.

From our Correspondent.

Hope H. Slatter—Domestic Slave-Trade—Shipment from Heart-rending Scenes—Humanity of Baltimore Sun.

BALTIMORE, January 24, 1847.

I wrote you so recently that I have not much to communicate; but thought that a few incidents that have occurred here during the past week might be of some interest to your readers. Hope H. Slatter, the notorious dealer in God's image, made a shipment of a large number of *men, women, and children*, for the rice swamps of the far South. The "General Pinkney," the vessel which took this freight of bodies and souls, cleared several days previous to sailing, and lay anchored off the "Point." And in real slave-trading style, at the appointed time weighs anchor, drops into her berth, takes in her cargo, and immediately sails. Slatter's slave prison is about two miles from the "Point." He generally, as in this case, treats his *goods* to an omnibus ride from their *public house* to the vessel, and in the *free, enlightened, Christian* city of Baltimore, third city of the *only Republican and free country on earth*, on Tuesday, January 19th, 1847, might have been seen a train of omnibuses crowded with human beings, "made but little lower than the angels," torn from all that makes life desirable, without crime or offence, and hurried off to toil "'neath the burning sun of a Southern plantation," without reward, with no man to care for the soul. Following this train, was a tall, gray-headed old man, of sixty winters, on horseback. His heart was callous to the wailings of the anguished mother for her child. He heeded not the sobs of the young wife for her husband. The sister, whose grief was insupportable as she heard the last farewell, faintly uttered, from an only brother as he was hurried on board that accursed vessel, moved not the adamantine heart of this human trafficker. These relations may not have existed as I have stated them, but friendship in every relation is severed by these horrible transactions. I saw a mother whose very frame was convulsed with anguish for her first-born, a girl of eighteen, who—notwithstanding her master was under bonds to the amount of two thousand dollars not to sell any of the family out of the State—had been sold to this dealer, and was among the number then shipped. I saw a young man who kept pace with the carriages, that he might catch one more glimpse of a dear friend before she was torn forever from his sight. As she saw him, she burst into a flood of tears, was hurried out of his sight, sorrowing most of all that they should see each other's face no more.

These are not uncommon occurrences in this city. The last Tuesday in December, there was a much larger number shipped than on last Tuesday. This is about all we see of Slavery here in the city. Humanity is not shocked, as on plantations, with the frequent floggings of the slave, or at least, it does not fall under observation, as in the other case. The effects of Slavery, however, are to be seen on every hand, and marks of this blighting system will be visible years after Slavery has been abolished.

The "Sun," of this city, a "neutral" *Democratic* paper, mentions the sailing of the "General Pinkney" for New Orleans, among the vessels sailed, &c. but says nothing of her cargo; two or three days after, it heads an account of the capture of two Brazilian sloops, on the coast of Angola, as slavers,—"THE HORRID SLAVE-TRADE." Neither of these sloops had any slaves on board; but a vessel can sail from our port actually freighted with slaves, and the simple fact of the vessel sailing is noticed and not a word said about "*the horrid Slave-Trade*," as if the Slave-Trade on the coast of Africa was any worse than on the coast of America.

To Correspondents.

A. K. F. The question has been answered once already. *We* are responsible.

G. B. S. The paper will be sent to the person whose name he sends, but no money will be credited on the books till it is received. Papers not paid for within a week or two are stopped.

W.T. C. of B. C. The persons were provided for before we received his letter. He shall be remembered, however. Probably we shall soon be able to send him what he wants.

J. C. C. We regret that his communications have been mislaid. If found they shall be returned to him.

The articles of Wm. Goodell, John Knox, D. W. & E. H. shall appear next week.

B. S. J. His favours of the 11th and 20th instant were both received in due season. He does not acknowledge the receipt of a letter from us.

M. W. of G. The name was sent, but an error was made in the post office. We trust there will be no mistake in future.

This Week's Paper.

FOURTH PAGE.—*Poetry:* The Poetry of the Poor—We Are Lowly; Night. *Miscellany:* Toussaint (continued); Sermon of Merchants; A Female Crusoe; Evangelical Alliance; Governor-General of Canada's Bride; The Camel and the Eye of the Needle.

FIRST PAGE.—*Selections:* What Mrs. Grundy thinks of us; Speech of Mr. Jay, in the Matter of George Kirk, a Fugitive Slave; The Slavery Question; Speech of Mr. Pettit, of Indiana.

SECOND PAGE.—*Communications:* Rochester Fair.

Died.

In this city, on the 22d instant, Mrs. FIDELIA DWIGHT PORTER, widow of the late Jonathan Edwards Porter, Esq. and sister of President Dwight, of Yale College, in the 77th year of her age.

At Plymouth, on the 19th inst. Mrs. HARRIET MITCHELL, wife of the Hon. Nathaniel Morton Davis, aged 50 years.

At the residence of her uncle, Wm. Lewis, of Putnam county, (Illinois,) ESTHER LEWIS LUNDY, daughter of the late Benjamin Lundy, after a severe illness of four days, in the 21st year of her age.

At Ottawa, (Ohio,) January 8th, 1847, of the same, LAURA ANN, infant daughter of Amos and Adaline Dresser, aged seven days.

At Bridgeport, (Connecticut,) January 13, Hon. SAMUEL SIMONDS, recently a member of Congress from Connecticut, 55.

At the Hospital in Richmond, (Virginia,) 15th instant, of dropsy, Mr. N. E. JOHNSON, formerly editor of the New-York Evangelist.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

Foreign.

Twenty-seven days Later from Europe.

The steamship Hibernia arrived at Boston on Monday morning, after a rough passage of nineteen and a half days, with Liverpool and London dates to the 5th and 4th. Her news is of considerable importance, and caused no slight stir among merchants.

It is said that about £200,000 to £300,000 in specie came out to Boston in the Hibernia.

The price of corn has advanced.

The best quality of corn is quoted at 68 to 72 shillings.

The price of flour has advanced.

Flour in bond, best quality, is quoted at 37 and 38 shillings per barrel.

The cotton market has been more animated during the past month, so that there has been a considerable business transacted.

American lard has been very largely dealt in—kegs selling at 48 to 50 shillings.

American beef and pork, continue in excellent demand, and although supplies are coming in free, very stiff rates are paid

A Paris paper asserts that the French Government intends to propose to the Chambers a considerable deduction in the duties on foreign corn.

The message of President Polk has been received with a good deal of contempt and indignation by the British press. Very severe comments are made upon his attempts to justify the war, and his declaration that it is not a war of conquest.

The condition of Ireland seems to be the great object of attention. Day after day the distress increases, and famine is doing the work of death in various parts of the country.

The suffering population in the highlands and islands of Scotland is estimated at one hundred thousand.

A pension of £100 a year has been offered by the Government to Father Mathew.

The Pope has reduced the duty on the export and import of grain into the Roman dominions.

Dissatisfaction in the British West Indies, caused by the reduction on the sugar duties, has compelled the "Home Government" to mature plans for the introduction of *labourers from Africa, to be conveyed by steam* to the islands.

Rome has been visited by great inundations; the distress is great, the amount of property destroyed very large; the Jews have been the greatest sufferers, but the Pope has mitigated their hardships by his purse and his personal exertions.

The massacre of the Christians continues in Turkey. Mor Yohannan, the Nestorian Bishop who visited New-York some years ago, has been impaled alive by Bedrhan Bay. In some instances, the poor creatures were burned alive after oil had been poured over their bodies.

General Items.

Life at the South.—The sparseness of the population in these Southern States, the small number of their staples, and their anti-manufacturing character, keep them poor. It is amusing to compare their occasional braggadocio with their actual wealth and strength. No people live in these cities with anything of the elegancies of the Northern nabobs. Equipages are poor; domestic arrangements imperfect. Nothing has a look of finish about it. You may see, even in a fine public building the plastering off, and not attended to for months.

The dashing young men who come with their fine clothes and jewelry, and careless habits, to the North, owe half their danger and dissipation to the contrast between Northern and Southern life. They often come from exceedingly poor establishments at home. You observe at the South a great contrast between the style of dress and the other social arrangements. Very finely dressed people live in very miserable quarters. Southern gentlemen are usually particular in their persons, at least as far as the outside goes. They are disgusting tobacco chewers, and without neatness in the use of it. (Clothes are commonly bought *ready made* from the North. This is an immense trade between New-York and Southern ports).—*Correspondence of the Christian Inquirer.*

The Land Graduation Bill.—The provisions of the bill now before Congress, to reduce and graduate the Public Lands are thus stated by the correspondent of the Journal of Commerce:

1. All public lands which have been offered for sale fifteen years or more, prior to December 1st, 1846, shall be subject to entry at one dollar per acre, for the term of five years; if then unsold shall be subject to entry at seventy-five cents, for another term of five years; and after that term, at fifty cents an acre.

2. The same rule of reduction is applied to all lands offered for sale after December 21st, 1846, provided that no one person shall enter more than one section at the lowest rate of fifty cents.

3. At each reduction, the settlers on any of these lands shall be entitled to pre-emption at the reduced prices.

4. All acts providing for an exemption from the imposition of taxes upon land sold by the United States for five years from and after the day of sale, are repealed by this act.

The bill will come up for consideration in the Senate to-morrow.

Important Decision.—William Henderson vs. *the State of Ohio*—In Error.—This was the case for kidnapping Jerry Phinney, at Franklinton, some ten months since, and which has given rise to no small degree of excitement. Henderson was the Justice of the Peace, and was indicted with Armitage and others, in Franklin Common Pleas, and tried at the Special Term, in September, for the alleged kidnapping; he was convicted and the others acquitted. The case came before the Supreme Court in banc on numerous errors assigned; and was decided this morning; Wood, Chief Justice, pronouncing what was understood to be the unanimous opinion of the Court, upon the following points:

The Court held: 1. That a juror could not be withdrawn by consent, in a criminal case, and the trial proceed; and therefore, there was error in the proceedings below.

2. That Henderson, being a Justice of the Peace, acted in a judicial capacity, and had jurisdiction in the case of an escaping slave; and consequently, his proceedings could not be called in question, for not acting in good faith, as he would be protected by the doctrine of judicial immunity.

3. That in consequence of this judicial immunity he would not be liable to an indictment, but could be called in question only by impeachment.

The judgment of the Common Pleas was therefore reversed, and it is understood that the Attorney General will order the discharge of the prisoner, as the Court have so settled all the legal principles of dispute in his favour.—*Ohio State Journal.*

Cape Cod Eloquence.—Addison, we believe, speaks of a certain market in London, "where they sell the best fish and speak the plainest English." There seems to be just such a place on the coast of Massachusetts. The following choice morsel is from a Locofoco paper called the Barnstable Patriot:—

"The clumsy-footed, slobbering, dirty-mouthed editor of the Register, has once more turned his heavy quid of tobacco, and is trying to spit out in raillery at us, the venom," &c. &c. &c.

As somebody remarked to his neighbour at whist, "if dirt was trumps, what hands you would hold!"—*Boston Courier.*

Judge Banks, says the Harrisburgh Intelligencer, has *accepted* the office of Treasurer of Pennsylvania.

More John P. Hales.—Two able men have recently come out of the slavocratic party in New Hampshire, and have taken ground by the side of Hale in favour of freedom. One is Mr Barstow, of Manchester, who has taken the stump for the good cause; and the other, Winthrop A. Marston, Esq of Somersworth.—*Essex Trans.*

Albert J. Tirrell, tried in Boston for arson, has been acquitted. He has been sentenced three years to the State Prison for adultery with Maria Bickford.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

For the Standard—from January 11th, to January 25th.

E. B. Willson, Grafton, Mass	$1 00
Edward Lewis, Cleveland, O	1 00
Dennis Tracey, Mesopotamia, O	1 00
Caleb Pinkham, Fowler's Mills, O	1 00
Orville Joiner, Garrettsville, "	1 00
O. M. Benton, Mecca, "	1 00
Eli W. Allen, South Bristol, N Y	1 00
Carmichael & Stranahan, Finchville, N Y	1 00
[illegible]	1 00
Harvey Patty,	1 00
Christian Hoffman, Winchester, Ia.	1 00
James S. Davis, Warren, Mass	1 00
Levi Carruth, E. Pharsalia, N Y	1 00
Sarah S. Wait, Preston, "	1 00
J. B. Packer, " "	1 00
J. O. Ransom, Smyrna, N Y	1 00
William Parker, "	1 00
Benjamin Hartwell, "	1 00
John Wilcox, "	1 00
Trowbridge Shepherd, Smyrna, N Y	1 00
Justus Burlingame, "	1 00
Thomas S. Wilcox, "	1 00
James Giles, Concord, Mass	1 00
Oliver Emery, "	1 00
Sophia L. Little, Newport, R I	50
Harriet Simms, Lowell, Mass	1 00
Mrs. A. Pierce, "	50
O. B. Marsh, New Milford, Ct.	1 00
W. E. Lewis, South Edmeston, N Y	1 00
C. Carrier, Columbus, "	1 00
Hannah Dixon, Sherburn, "	1 00
James Young, New Castle, Pa	3 00
Isaac Thornburg, New Garden, Ia	1 00
Temple Atkinson, Wilmington, O	1 00
Henry Gilpin, "	1 00
Ephraim Orin, Hunt's Cross Roads, Ia	1 00
E. J. Whinery, Port William, O	50
William Stephens, Jr. Plymouth, Mass	1 00
Micah Richmond, "	1 00
A. L. Drew, "	1 00
Capt. J. Cornish, "	1 00
Wm. Thomas, "	1 00
Freeman Morton, "	1 00
Freeman Morton, Jr. "	1 00
James A. Sylvester, "	1 00
Branch Blackmer, "	1 00
Wm. A. Perkins, "	50
James Winslow, Freetown, Mass	1 00
I. V. Wardwell, Hill, N H	1 00
Rev. Augustus R. Pope, Kingston, Mass	2 00
Joseph Ricketson, New Bedford, "	1 00
John Hoskins, Bloomsburgh, Pa	1 00
John F. Herriot, Hermitage, "	1 00
Wm. Robinson, Pulaski, "	1 00
Robert Horner, Nilestown, O	1 00
W. B. Towne, Boston, Mass	50
Clarke Phinney, Eel River, Plymouth, Mass	1 00
Emmons Thayer, Braintree, "	1 00
S. W. Eldridge, S. Deerfield, "	1 00
Daniel T. Watson, Hill, N H	1 00
T. L Harmon, Cambridge, Mass	1 00
Sarah Whitney, W. Roxbury, "	1 00
Isaiah Thayer, Weymouth, "	50
Alpheus Weller, Skaneateles, N Y	1 00

Poetry.

THE POETRY OF THE POOR.—WE ARE LOWLY.

BY R. NICOLL.

We are lowly—very lowly—
Misfortune is our crime;
We have been trodden under foot
From all recorded time.
A yoke upon our necks is laid,
A burden to endure;
To suffer is our legacy—
The portion of the poor!

We are lowly—very lowly—
And scorned from day to day—
Yet we have something of our own
Power cannot take away.
By tyrants we are toiled to death—
By cold and hunger killed;
But peace is in our hearts—it speaks
Of duties all fulfilled!

We are lowly—very lowly,
Nor house nor home have we—
But there's a heritage for us
While we have eyes to see.
They cannot hide the lovely stars—
Words in creation's book—
Although they hold their fields and lands
Corrupted by our look!

We are lowly—very lowly,
And yet the fairest flowers
That by the wayside raise their eyes—
Thank God, they still are ours;
Ours is the streamlet's mellow voice,
And ours the common dew;
We still gaze on hill and plain,
And field and meadow too!

We are lowly— very lowly,
But when the cheerful spring
Comes forth with flowers upon her feet,
To hear the throstle sing.
Although we dare not seek the shade
Where haunt the forest deer,
The waving leaves we still can see,
The humming birds can hear.

We are lowly—very lowly,
Our hedge-row paths are gone,
Where woodbines laid their fairy hands
The hawthorn's nest upon.
Yet slender mercies still are felt,
And heaven doth endure,
And hears the prayers that upwards rise
From the afflicted poor!

NIGHT.

BY J. BLANCO WHITE.

Mysterious Night! when our first Parent knew
Thee from report divine, and heard thy name,
Did he not tremble for this lovely frame,
This glorious canopy of Light and Blue?
Yet 'neath a curtain of translucent dew,
Bathed in the rays of the great setting Flame,
Hesperus with the Host of Heaven came,
And lo! Creation widened in man's view.
Who could have thought such Darkness lay concealed
Within thy beams, O sun! or who could find,
Whilst fly, and leaf, and insect stood revealed,
That to such countless orbs thou mad'st us blind!
Why do we then shun Death with anxious strife?
If Light can thus deceive, wherefore not Life?

Miscellany.

TOUSSAINT:
AN HISTORICAL ROMANCE.

From an unpublished Translation from the German of Theodore Mugge.)

CHAPTER XIII.—CONCLUDED.

Jeannot broke out into a howl which had nothing human in it. With convulsive force he clung to the priest, and no efforts of the negroes, who sought to tear him away, could undo his arms. The old priest stretched out his arms imploringly to Jean Francois. "As thou believest in God and his saints, my son," he cried, "by thine immortal soul, in the name of heaven and our holy faith, mercy for the sinner! Will you do as he has done? Will you torture his mortal body, and consign his soul, without repentance and atonement, to eternal damnation? Mercy! mercy! that he may repent!"

"I will repent," shrieked Jeannot, in appalling agony. "Mercy! my brother, mercy!"

Jean Francois looked at him with utter contempt. "O! you are right, my brother Toussaint," said he, "Cruelty is always the strength of the coward. See how this man grovels in the dust for a worthless life, how he trembles, how fear makes him mad, and yet how has he laughed to see others die. Holy father, you do not in vain bid me be better than this creature; I will not torture his mortal life, his soul shall not enter eternity without time for repentance."

Jeannot raised himself up and then threw himself at the feet of the General. "Sun of the world," cried he, "Jeannot is thy slave forever."

"Five minutes," said Jean Francois, coolly, and again pushing Jeannot away, "do I grant you to implore the forgiveness of Heaven, and then take him hence, and shoot him there under the palm-tree, the theatre of all his atrocities. No mercy, father," he continued sternly, and stamping with his foot, as the priest was again about to speak, "this wretch must die, may God pardon him. I, the head of my brethren, must punish his crimes."

The guards of the Commander-in-Chief now used every means to tear Jeannot away from the priest, around whose body he clung anew. They pushed, and tugged, and pulled, and struck him, he knew that here was the last hope of life, and with desperate power he held fast. The accounts tell us that at last they cut through his hands with knives, in order to free the half-crushed priest from his grasp, and with tendons severed, his fingers at last quitted their hold. He was then dragged out, and his yells were lost in the shouts of triumph over his fate.

Jean Francois now turned to the circle of his officers, and his proud form expressed the sense of power which he felt in the exercise of his supreme authority. Not in vain had he given a severe example how he would punish the irrecognition of his power. His speech conveyed dark intimations that a like fate awaited others, and it was remarkable with what adroitness he made the rude men about him understand that only a new system of order and law, of which he himself was the centre, could secure a favourable result to the present conflict. "We have all," said he, "drawn the sword to obtain freedom, but ah! my brothers, how far are we from this end! We have laid waste the plains, and slain our oppressors, we have fought victorious battles, and achieved great deeds; holy men of God are with us, and bless our arms, we have friends who afford us generous assistance, we know that all the nations of the world, except the blood-thirsty Creoles of this Island, follow our steps with shouts of jubilee, and yet, brothers, we are fugitives and scattered, hunger and misery attend us, and our very name is accursed, through barbarians like Jeannot, who make a just vengeance the pretence for their cruelty." At this moment was heard, without, a discharge of fire-arms, and a wild shriek. "He is dead, the wretch," cried Jean Francois, "and by the holy Mother of God!" and here he and most of the warriors crossed themselves, "I swear to make an end of these wild hordes, who will ruin us all. We will all unite to teach our poor brethren that union only can give us the victory over these white planters. Why are these whites so mighty? Through their discipline; one commands and the rest obey; through their art of war, which we must learn from them. Therefore I, Jean Francois, Commander-in-Chief, declare also that we must observe order, and be divided into divisions, brigades, regiments, and companies. I have already raised many of my brothers to be leaders and officers, but this shall soon be done upon a larger scale. He then turned round to the circle about him, and said with a warning voice: "Well for those who are faithful, they will become great, and their fortune will be without end; but woe to the traitors, who shall suffer punishment like this Jeannot."

As he cast his large, piercing eyes around, he smiled kindly upon the white officer, who now stood near, Toussaint, evidently having much to say to him. He beckoned to him to come nearer, and it was evident, how much his pride was flattered, when Vincent testified towards him all the respect, which was due to the chief of a large army, and to a man who had spoken so seasibly, and to whom Vincent owed his deliverance. The latter expressed his gratitude in burning words, and the royal negro listened to him with manifest pleasure. At last he extended his hand to Vincent, and said: "M. St. Vincent, your thanks are not due to me alone, but to fortune, and to your friend, my brother Toussaint Breda, who found you in the wood among the Congoes, belonging to the band of Jeannot. He came to me and told me how little you resembled your white friends, how kindly you had once treated him when he was a poor slave. He besought me with wise words, to rescue you from Jeannot's cruelty, and at the same time to put an end to the career of that miscreant. So it has happened," he continued, "and you are now my prisoner. But fear nothing," said he, and smiled, "it is true that I have published an order that every man, who bears arms against us, shall be put to death, and only women and children be spared; but has not blood enough been spilt? The black man is not cruel, necessity has made him so, and your brethren, they, who boast themselves of possessing the civilization of centuries, are they not worse than this Jeannot?" He then pointed with much gravity to Toussaint, and said: "The Brigadier Toussaint has pledged himself for you, and I deliver you into his custody, until an opportunity offers to exchange you. You will give your word not to attempt an escape. We will set the white gentlemen a good example, and perhaps succeed in making this war more human." Bowing to Vincent, he retired, followed by his officers. Toussaint alone remained, who listened with a smile, to the hearty thanks of the young Frenchman, and seemed, with his large clear eyes, to look into his very soul. "And would you not have done the same thing, M. St. Vincent," said he, "for me? Yes, surely, you would have done it for the poorest that you could have saved from death. In the woods of Dondon, I could not tear you from Candi's hands without danger to you and to myself. When the lion is roaring for blood, he asks not whom his talons rend. But I knew that in a few hours I could set you free, and my spies surrounded this camp. My brother, Jean Francois," and a smile lightened his features, "needed no great wisdom, to see that it was necessary to put down this cruel Jeannot, who fancied himself superior to Jean Francois, when he rode to church with six horses, and derided the orders of the General. Men often have a secret spring in their bosoms, which is folly or something worse, which may be easily touched, so it is no difficult art, M. St. Vincent, to extract good from the ambition or vanity which has brought so much evil into the world. We have this morning witnessed a revolution, just and salutary, we have now entered the path towards order, which leads to civilization; and now Mr. prisoner, accompany me to the camp of his Excellency Jean Francois, where an old friend will heal the wounds on your head, and perhaps, too," he added, in a whisper, "those of your heart also."

Vincent was amazed at the calm dignity of this singular man, who, though ostensibly sustaining more humble relations, yet, as counsellor and friend of the General and leader, appeared to hold, as it were, the place of Prime Minister, but concealed his influence as much as possible from all eyes, expecially those of Jean Francois. As he stood at the side of the black Commander, whose stately form was peculiarly fitted to command the homage of rude spirits, Vincent perceived the prudence of the old negro, whose less commanding figure appeared unsightly, and even repulsive among so many tall, well-formed men. Vincent perceived the deep, earnest, silent character that awaited the hour for action, the eye, in which alone beamed an elevation, which could not be wholly hidden, and then it occurred to him that more than one king had been dethroned by their ministers, and that in revolutions, the permanent power is obtained not by the first leaders, but by the wise ones who know how to make use of circumstances; and in the present case, what individual had arisen wiser than this black philosopher, possessed, as he was, of such a rare degree of cultivation, and of so penetrating an intellect. Whatever might happen, this man was evidently destined to play a most distinguished part, and Vincent fancied that a contemptuous smile passed over Toussaint's features, as he rode on in the suite of Jean Francois through the ranks of the black army, and all military honours were paid to the Commander-in-Chief, while Toussaint himself, the Brigadier, was scarcely noticed. Vincent could not help feeling that he knew what Toussaint was thinking of, and that soon all would bow before the genius of the man, who now passed along, attracting so little attention.

CHAPTER XIV.

The immense hosts of the black army, which extended from Dondon near the Grande Rivière, up towards the Spanish boundaries, had their centre in Jean Francois's camp. It was not without astonishment that Vincent saw how vast was the number of these combatants, and how a commanding hand was reducing the rude rabble to order, so that here and there, the effects of discipline were beginning to create a formidable strength. He was reminded of the words of old Touzard, that a world in arms would not be able to subdue these negroes, when once they had learned the advantages of order; and he listened attentively, as Toussaint proceeded to give him information.

"You see here," said the Brigadier, pointing to the crowded lines as they passed, "the negroes from the plantations in the Northern and Eastern districts. When the insurrection broke out, about a hundred thousand fighting men rose in arms. They fought in separate bodies, the blacks of each plantation, uniting themselves under a self-chosen leader. I was, as you know, the leader of the Plantation Breda. Hundreds of battles and skirmishes took place here and there; but gradually his Excellency Jean Francois came to be acknowledged as General-in-chief, and he gathered the strength and sinews of our people around his standard. Only a few lawless spirits, like this Jeannot, such as Biasson Lafortune, Pierrot, still continue to rove, but the day will come when they shall all be put down. A beginning has now been made to accustom these wild warriors to form closed ranks, after the fashion of the whites, and to move at the word of command, but still the hour is not yet come. It will be some time in coming," he added thoughtfully, "but there is a way to hasten it, the way by which the progress of the world is always quickened." Vincent looked at him inquiringly, and Toussaint continued, with a smile: "you would know what that way is? It is necessity, want, hunger. O! believe it, among these thousands, there are very many who would gladly wear again the slave's chains, who, among these wild rocks long for the peace of their old hovels; even for the sugar-houses and the whip of the cruel overseer if, therewith, they could only get bananes again, and well-filled stomachs. Man is a creature, that like every other animal, must be driven by violence to the improvement of his condition, and it is you, white men, who have caused this insurrection. God, in his providence, gave these Creoles hearts so cruel and vengeful, He planted in them a contempt for their poor slaves, so deep that they were unable to hear the voice of reason. Let them unite to-day, and say to the blacks: "Come back to us, we will forget and forgive and be kind masters to you," and three-fourths of these famishing creatures would bow their knees anew. But this voice grows weaker every day," he continued, as if speaking to himself, "the faithful slaves, who returned to their masters, were murdered, like the rebels; blind fury slaughtered all, even the silly devils, who had saved their masters at the peril of life. Soon will the door of reconciliation be wholly shut, the black man will have a new master who will feed and clothe him, and woe then to France, woe to the fools, who forever drive us away from them."

"Do you not know," interrupted the young officer, with eagerness, "that France has no share in these shameful proceedings, that the great nation wills the freedom of all her citizens? What did you say to me once, when the flames were roaring around us? Did you not say that you would always be a Frenchman, a black Frenchman? And now what means this language? You have sold yourselves to Spain, and betrayed your country, and flung from you, for the sake of bread, the freedom which beckoned to you, and your colours you have decorated with the name of a king? Now you are the enemies of France, and not of the planters of this Island. Woe rather to you, you, who, accustomed to servitude, are ready to become the slaves of the proud Spaniard; you, who, after shedding so much blood for freedom, have achieved nothing better than to become the subjects of a king, who, like the planter in the mornes, lords it over life and blood."

The negro looked fixedly at his white friend, and with a mournful smile, shook his head. "Freedom and country," said he, "are two things, which have a value only for those who are able to feel their worth. What is freedom to the black man? A condition of idleness and ease; and what is a country to him? O! gracious heaven, have I then a country," exclaimed he, and his eyes kindled. "That land of deserts, the land of my ancestors, with its huts, and palms, and fountains, has for its children, scarcely the rude charm of nature. The slave, seized by his enemies, and dragged to the coast, easily consoles himself, for he escapes a cruel death, and a new land opens before him, and here also are palms, and fountains, and companions in suffering, and the coarse gratification of his rude nature. I was born on this Island, and many thousands with me; but the slave has no country, only the proud free man knows this happiness. I have read of the old Germans, rude and savage, how they dwelt in a rough, inclement land, and how, when they were taken prisoners by the Romans, died of home-sickness in the midst of beautiful Italy. O! Sir, not the longing for home, only misery kills the poor African, for he has never known freedom. What thought, then," he continued, "animates these naked, hungry masses? They are driven into the wilderness, after they have destroyed those who fed them, and who has the courage to say to them: 'France wills your good, hold fast to freedom and country!' Perhaps the day will come," he added, in a low voice, "when a voice shall say this, when the sacred principles of freedom shall come triumphantly across the water, and these blood-thirsty Creoles be forced to desecrate the rights of humanity no longer,—yes, Mr. Officer, when Toussaint Breda may offer you the hand of a brother."

"My friend, my brother!" cried Vincent, seizing Toussaint's hand with fervour, "Who has a better right to my love and admiration. Yes, the time will come, when this mournful delusion shall vanish, when the colour of the skin shall no longer prevent talent from aspiring to the highest honours of the world. Called to dissipate this darkness, and to open the way for young people to freedom and happiness, you will become great like the heroes of antiquity, wise, like them, a citizen of the world, a father and benefactor of humanity."

"I must make haste, then," replied Toussaint, thoughtfully and solemnly, casting down a glance at his own person, "for I am a ripe tree." He uttered no self-disparaging words, but fell in with the enthusiasm of his young friend, and proceeded to open his heart, and to express all that he himself thought and felt of the great future that awaited him. His soul seemed to be full of thoughts, chasing one another in rapid succession, and the broken manner in which he uttered himself showed how changeful were the images that flitted before him. He related much of the history of his youth, and referred, not without a certain pride, to his royal descent. "You smile, Sir," said he, "and you are right, but not for much would I lack the remembrance of my ancestors, of the greater father of my line, naked king though he were, seated on a wooden throne, the laughing-stock of the meanest sailors; but Gaou-Ginu was a great prince, and the negroes love the sons of their kings. When I was a boy I heard a voice in my own bosom, which called to me every day: 'Grandson of the King of the Arradas, will thou wear the chain forever?' I wept and prayed, and had strange dreams of an empire whose crown I was to wear, until I grew older, and the voice of boyish ambition vanished in knowledge and peace. In thoughtfulness and meditation I have grown old, why came not this time for action when I was young and strong? And have I not ripened for action? Is not the inward conflict of mind still a conflict? O, what struggles have I gone through, ere my spirit was prepared to think justly. Now I am old, but I see far, my eye stretches out far beyond the time, and I see coming what will come. Yes, at this moment I could play the part of a soothsayer, but prophets have little joy in their gift." Suddenly he turned upon Vincent with his sharp eye: "Believe me, dear friend, since so I may and will call you, what you will see and hear there in the camp—it is well that it is so, and so it must be. These black creatures, rude, neglected slaves, have yet much to learn, and must pay for it with blood and life, ere they attain to intelligence. Still for a long time to come he will be their lord and master, who has the power to keep them in order with sword and whip. Some there are among them who will be quick to learn and become wise, but the greater part of them are incapable of culture, and their lot is death. Can a savage love true freedom? A negro cannot, he can only obey, and he obeys whom he fears. A king is his highest thought, he trembles before this name and before the priests, whom he honours as the servants of a God whom he knows not. You tell him that the Creoles hate the king, how then can he do else out love him? You understand now, why we fight for the king. We are the only loyal subjects upon this Island, and does it not do credit to our policy, that we summon all the true servants of his majesty to join us, and so the rage of our enemies rises to madness. Well, then, let us swear fealty to a king and disown the claims of our country, until it is in truth a country to its repulsed citizens, and can give them true freedom." Here he broke off the conversation, and spurred his horse to a quicker gait. It was a noble animal, of Spanish training, full of fire, and Toussaint controlled him with all the skill of an accomplished horseman. Suddenly he let the reins drop, and, quitting his companion's side, flew away over the uneven ground, and as suddenly checked his speed as he darted into a crowd of black soldiers, whose admiring salutations he received and returned with a cordial courtesy, and then he returned in the same manner, and resumed his place at the side of Vincent, and renewed the conversation. There was design in all this, although it appeared to be done without thought. With a smile, he began to make excuses for the awkwardness of the blacks, and even of their Commander-in-Chief, who, upon his richly caparisoned steed, showed at every quicker movement of the animal, all the timidity of an unpracticed rider. "Where should we have learned to ride?" said Toussaint. "The negro tribes of Africa are no horsemen, and here on this Island we have been the horses and asses. But patience, Sir, everything in this world can be learned. The time is gone by when the trembling savages mistook man and horse for one terrible monster, and, I think, we shall live to see the time when black riders will beat white."

They had now reached the highest point of the mountain-ridge, and Vincent cast a longing and wondering look over the broad land. In the remotest distance glistened the mirror of the sea, and dark masses in the East, announced the place where lay the Cape, with its restless life and reckless passions; and there the mountain country rose gradually from the plain, once a beautiful garden, now a place of sculls, the grotesque natural formations, and jagged walls of rock, the deep valleys, a mingling of wood, and mountain, and chasm, were chequered with sunlight and shade; on one side lay Dondon, with its ruins, where the golden cross of the church rose above the ruins, and the faint chime of bells trembled through the glowing air, a token of Christianity, of prayer, of the religion of love, summoning murderers to its altars. Toussaint interrupted the melancholy thoughts of the prisoner, by pointing into the remote distance where his piercing eye discerned a long dark, irregular body, which moved like a huge snake, over the bare plain. "There," said he, "goes old Touzard, and the brave citizens of the Cape will sing a Te Deum, because they happen to see an old cannon taken from the cursed slaves. And who was it that drove those soldiers back from the redoubt which they had taken? Six or eight thousand negroes, armed with stones, axes, knives, and wretched muskets. Jeannot and his Congoes, Bruckman and the negroes of Marmelade, Biasson with his bands from the plain of the Cape. Jean Francois was not engaged, sixty thousand of my brethren stood ready to receive Touzard here; but he has fled, and I guess for some time."

"Do not deceive yourself," replied Vincent. "They are tired at the Cape, of making fruitless efforts, and I am well nigh persuaded that this will be the last. They have now chased away the blacks from the low-lands, which they will hold, but the soldiers will not return into the town. They will throw up a new chain of fortifications, and the soldiers in Port Dauphin and Port-de-Paix will do the same, and reinforcements will arrive from Europe, and a second chain will be erected. That is the slow but certain way of effecting your destruction; you will be driven into the wild Spanish mountains, and hunger will finish what the sword leaves."

Toussaint listened to all this with a smile. "You know not this country," said he, "these mountains belong to us, and no power on earth is strong enough to wrest them from us. Let them come, let everything happen, as you say, and in one dark night, a stream of desperate blacks will rush back from forest and chasm, and lay waste with fire and sword, the works which have been with so much trouble prepared. Believe me," he continued, "never will peace return again, until free negroes occupy this soil, never will the white man find rest here, until a black rules here, who shall be the head of his brethren, and shall love freedom and the white men."

(To be continued.)

SERMON OF MERCHANTS.

We make the extract which follows from a most faithful and bold Sermon of Merchants, preached to his Society, by the Rev. Theodore Parker, of Boston:

* * * * * *

There is always a conservative element in society; yes, an element which resists the further application of Christianity to public affairs. Once the Fighters and their children were uppermost, and represented that element. Then the merchants were reformatory, radical, in collision with the nobles. They were "Whigs"—the nobles were "Tories." The merchants formed themselves into companies and got power from the crown to protect themselves against the nobles, whom the crown also feared. It is so in England now. The great revolution in the laws of trade lately effected there, was brought about by the merchants, though opposed by the Lords. The Anti-Corn Law League was a Trades-Union of merchants contending against the owners of the soil. There the lord of land, and by birth, is slowly giving way to the lord of money, who is powerful by his knowledge or his wealth. There will always be such an element in society. Here I think it is represented by the merchants. They are backward in all reforms excepting such as their own interest demands. Thus they are blind to the evils of Slavery, at least silent about them. How few commercial or political newspapers in the land ever seriously oppose this great national wickedness. Nay, how many of them favour its extension and preservation! A few years ago, in this very city, a mob of men, mainly from this class it is said, insulted honest women peaceably met to consult for the welfare of Christian slaves in a Christian land—met to pray for them! A merchant of this city says publicly that a large majority of his brethren would kidnap a fugitive slave in Boston; says it with no blush, and without contradiction. It was men of this class who opposed the abolition of the Slave-Trade and had it guaranteed them for twenty years after the formation of the Constitution; through their instigation that this foul blot was left to defile the Republic and gather blackness from age to age; through their means that the nation stands before the world pledged to maintain it. They could end Slavery at once, at least could end the national connection with it—but it is through their support that it continues: that it acquires new strength, new boldness, new territory, darkens the nation's fame and hope, delays all other reformations in Church and State and the mass of the people. Yes, it is through their influence that the Chivalry, the wisdom, patriotism, eloquence, yea, religion of the free States, are all silent when the word Slavery is pronounced.

The Senate of Massachusetts represents this more than any other class. But all last winter it could not say one word against the wickedness of this sin, allowed to live and grow greater in the land. Just before the last election something could be said! Do speech and silence mean the same thing?

This class opposed abolishing imprisonment for debt, thinking it endangered trade. They now oppose the progress of Temperance and the abolition of the Gallows. They see the evils of war; they cannot see its sin; will sustain men who help plunge the nation into its present disgraceful and cowardly conflict; will encourage foolish young men to go and fight in this wicked war. A great man said—or was reported to have said—that perhaps it is not an American habit to consider the natural justice of a war, but to count its cost! A terrible saying that! There is a Power which considers its JUSTICE, and will demand of us the blood we have wickedly poured out—blood of the Americans, blood of the Mexicans! They cannot see the evils of indirect taxation, which is taxing the poor for the benefit of the rich; they cannot see what causes poverty; as a class they are blind to this great evil of popular ignorance—the more terrible evils of licentiousness, drunkenness and crime! I wish it was an American habit to count the cost of that. The "fanatics" will consider its justice. If they see these evils they look not for their CAUSE; at least, strive not to remove that cause. They have long known that every year more money is paid in Boston for poison drink to be swallowed on the spot—a drink which does no man any good, which fills your asylums with paupers, your jails with criminals, and houses with unutterable misery in father, mother, wife and child;—more money every year than it would take to build your new Aqueduct, and bring abundance of water fresh to every house. If they have not known it—why it was their fault, for the fact was there crying to heaven against us all. As they are the most powerful class, the elder brothers—American nobles if you will—it was their duty to look out for their weaker brother. No man has strength for himself alone. To use it for one's self alone—that is a sin. I do not think they are conscious of the evil they do, or the evils they allow. I speak not of motives, only of facts.

This class controls the State. The effects of that control appear in our legislation. I know there are many noble men in political life, who have gone there with the loftiest motives, men that ask only after what is RIGHT. I honour such men—honour them all the more because they seem exceptions to a general rule; men far above the spirit of any class. I must speak of what commonly takes place. Our politics are chiefly mercantile, politics in which money is preferred, and man postponed. When the two come into collision—the man goes to the wall and the street is left clear for the dollars. A few years ago in monarchical France a report was made of the condition of the working population in the large manufacturing towns—a truthful report, but painful to read for it told of strong men oppressing the weak.* I do not believe that such an undisguised statement of the good and ill could be tolerated in democratic America. When you protect the rights of all, you protect also the property of each and by that very act. To begin the other way is quite contrary to nature. But our politicians cannot say too little for men, nor too much for money. Take the politicians most famous and honoured at this day—and what have they done? They have laboured for a tariff, or for free trade; but what have they done for man? nay, what have they attempted?—to restore natural rights to men notoriously deprived of them; progressively to elevate their material, moral, social condition? I think no one pretends it. Even in proclamations for Thanksgiving and days of prayer—it is not the most needy we are bid remember. Public sins are not pointed out to be repented of. Slaveholding States shut up in their jails our coloured seamen soon as they arrive in a southern port. A few years ago, at a time of considerable excitement here on the Slavery question, a petition was sent from this place by some merchants and others, to one of our Senators, praying Congress to abate that evil. For a long time that Senator could find no opportunity to present the petition. You know how much was said and what was done. Had the South demanded every tenth or twentieth bale of "domestics" coming from the North, had a petition relative to that grievance been sent to Congress, and a Senator unreasonably delayed to present it—how much more would have been said and done; when he came back he would have been hustled out of Boston! When South Carolina and Louisiana sent home our messengers—driving them off with reproach, insult, and danger of their lives—little is said and nothing done. But if the barbarous natives of Sumatra interfere with our commerce—why we send a ship and lay their towns in ruins and murder the inhabitants! We all know that for some years Congress refused to receive petitions relative to Slavery—and we know how tamely that was borne by the class who commonly control political affairs. What if Congress had refused to receive petitions relative to a tariff, or free trade, to the shipping interest, or the manufacturing interest? When the rights of men were concerned,—three million men—only the "fanatics" complained. The political newspapers said "hush!"

The merchant-manufacturers want a protective tariff; the merchant-importers—free trade, and so the national politics hinge about that question. When Massachusetts was a carrying State she wanted free trade; now a manufacturing State she desires protection. That is all natural enough; men wish to protect their interests whatsoever they may be. But no talk is made about protecting the labor of the rude man, who has no capital, nor skill, nothing but his natural force of muscles. The foreigner underbids him, monopolizing most of the brute labour of our large towns and internal improvements.

**I refer to the Report of M. Villerme, in the Memoires de l' Institut, Tom. lxxi.*

There is no protection—no talk of protection for the carpenter, or the brick layer. I do not complain of that. I rejoice to see the poor wretches of the old world finding a home where our fathers found one before. Yet if we cared for men more than for money, and were consistent with our principles of protection, why we should exclude all foreign workmen, as well as their work, and so raise the wages of the native hands. That would doubtless be very foolish legislation—but perhaps not, on that account, very strange. I know we are told that our hand-worker, whose capital is his skill, cannot compete with the operative of Manchester and Brussels, because that operative is paid but little. I know not if it be true, or a mistake. But who ever told us such men could not compete with the slave of South Carolina, who is paid nothing? We have legislation to protect our own capital against foreign capital; perhaps our own labour against the "pauper labour of Europe;" why not against the slave labour of the Southern States? Because the controlling class prefers money and postpones man. Yet the slave-breeder is protected. He has I think the only real monopoly in the land. No importer can spoil his market, for the foreign slave is contraband. If I understand the matter, the importation of slaves was allowed, until such men as pleased could accumulate their stock. The reason why it was afterwards forbidden I think was chiefly a mercantile reason: the slave-breeder wanted a monopoly, for God knows and you know that it is no worse to steal grown men in Africa than to steal new born babies in Maryland—to have them born for the sake of stealing them. Free labour may be imported—for it helps the merchant-producer and the merchant-manufacturer. Slave labour is declared contraband, for the merchant slave-breeders want a monopoly.

This same preference of money over men appears in many special statutes. In most of our manufacturing companies the capital is divided into shares so large that a poor man cannot invest therein. This could easily be avoided. A man steals a candlestick out of a church, and goes to the States-prison for a year and a day. Another quarrels with a man, maims him for life, and is sent to the common jail for six months. A bounty is paid, or was until lately, on every gallon of intoxicating drink manufactured here and sent out of the country. If we begin with taking care of the rights of man it becomes easy to take care of the rights of labour and of capital. To begin the other way is quite another thing. A nation making laws for the nation is a noble sight. The government of all, by all and for all, is a democracy. When that government follows the eternal laws of God it is founding what Christ called the Kingdom of Heaven. But the predominating class making laws not for the nation's good but only for its own—is a sad spectacle; no reasoning can make it other than a sorry sight. To see able men prostituting their talents to such a work—that is one of the saddest sights! I know all other nations have set us the example, yet it is painful to see it followed—and here.

From the Boston Atlas.

A FEMALE CRUSOE.

Off the coast of Alta California, about two degrees distant, bearing nearly west from Point San Pedro, which is in the latitude of 33 43 N. and longitude 118 14 W. will be found a small island, called by the Spaniards Saint Nicholas. This island was formerly inhabited by an inoffensive, indolent race of Indians, who subsisted almost entirely upon fish, which they caught from the rocks, and muscles, which they found in the sands of the beach. They were a listless, quiet race of beings, who seldom had communication with others of the human family, and who had but few wants, and fewer cares.

About the year eighteen hundred and eighteen or twenty, the Russians, from their settlements at the North, landed on this Island a party of Kodiac Indians, for the purpose of hunting the sea otter, which, at that period, abounded in those waters.—This party remained on the island for more than two years; and were the means of sowing the seeds of disease and contention amongst its unsuspecting and unsophisticated inhabitants.

Some ten or twelve years after the departure of the Kodiacs, this tribe had become diminished to about twenty or thirty individuals, when the Governor of the department of California sent over a small vessel and removed them to the main.

In the last boat, which was embarking with the last of this people, (some six or eight perhaps in number,) to convey them to the vessel, which was to carry them from the home of their nativity forever, was one of the tribe, small in stature, not far advanced in years, and his dusky mate, then in the bloom of life. The order had been given to shove from the shore; the oars had dipped in the wave, the boat was rising on the foaming surf, then breaking on the beach with awful roar, when, with the impulse of the moment as it were, this young and blooming bride of the red man, the imprint of whose footsteps had been the last left on the sands of her island home, waved an adieu to her chosen mate, plunged into the abyss, "strove through the surge," and, in another moment, stood alone on the shores of her native land. She turned, to give the last lingering look to her departing help-mate; and then, gathering around her form her flowing mantle, wet by the ocean wave, in an instant disappeared forever from the sight of her astonished and sorrowing companions.

The vessel weighed anchor, spread her canvass; and, in forty-eight hours, this remnant of the inhabitants of San Nicholas were landed on Point San Pedro, houseless and forlorn.

From that period to the present—if she be not dead, or has not left within the past eighteen months—has resided alone, on the Isle of San Nicholas, this female Crusoe, the monarch of all she surveys. She preferred to part even with her chosen mate, and sever every human tie that could be binding, rather than leave the home of her birth—that lonely little Isle, that had been to her a world, which she cared not to exchange for the abode of civilized man, with all its promised luxuries.

Since our Crusoe became the sole monarch of the Isle, San Nicholas has been visited perhaps ten or twelve different times, by different individuals; but there she has continued to be found, with none to dispute her right—alone, solitary and forsaken.

Her dress, or covering, is composed of the skins of small birds, which she kills with stones, and sews them together with a needle of bone and the light sinews of the hair seal, sometimes found dead amongst the rocks. Her only food is a shell fish, of the muscle species, with now and then a still smaller fish, which the surf sometimes throws on to the beach. She never remains long in one spot; but is constantly wandering around the shores of the Island, sleeping, which she seldom does, in small caves, and crevices in the rocks.

During the last few years, it has been very difficult to obtain any communication with her. At the approach of the white man she flees, as from an evil spirit; and the only way to detain her, is by running her down, as you would the wild goat of the mountain, or the young fawn of the plains.

Those who have seen her at the latest period, report that she appears to have lost all knowledge of language; that she makes only a wild noise, altogether inhuman; and when taken and detained against her will, becomes frightened and restless; that the moment she is liberated, she darts off, and endeavours to secret herself in the wild grass, or amongst the rocks which hang over the never ceasing surf.

Every endeavour has been made, and every inducement offered, by different individuals, to prevail upon her to leave the Island, but in vain. The only home she appears to desire, is her own little isle.—Her last hope, if she has any, is, to finish her journey alone. She has no wish now, to hear again the sweet music of speech. Its sounds are no longer music to her ear—and as for civilized man, his tameness is shocking even to her dormant senses.

To all appearance, she is strong, healthy, and content to be alone. What can reconcile her to her lot, who can conjecture? Humanity may hope that contentment may continue to be hers, to the last hour; for she is destined to lie down and die alone, on the cold shore of her isolated home, with no one to administer to her last wants, and none to cover her cold body, when the spirit shall have left the clay.

But the story of our Crusoe's chosen mate, the companion of her early life, has yet to be told. He saw her for the last time, as we have stated, when she stood alone on the shores of her own Isle; when the boat with himself and his companions was dashing through the wild surf, that broke in uninterrupted succession against the rocks which encircled the resting place of his fathers, and which he was then leaving forever. With the remnant of the family from San Nicholas, our hero was landed at San Pedro, and there left, with the others who had accompanied him, to find a home in that land of strangers.

San Pedro, it may be known, is a bleak, barren, bluff point, running out into the blue waters of the Pacific, on which no verdure is to be seen, and but one solitary abode of man, rising amidst the desolation which surrounds it. The Pueblo de los Angelos is situated ten leagues distant, with one farm house between the one on the point and those of the town. The mission of San Gabriel lies yet farther on, some three or four leagues; where, at that time, might be found, perhaps, three or four hundred converted Indians.

But our hero, as he may be called, never left the beach on which he was first landed. Alone and friendless, there he remained, an isolated being, till life ceased to animate his frame. True it is, that several times he was induced, and once or twice forced, to venture as far as the Pueblo, and even the mission of San Gabriel; but he always, as soon as at liberty, returned and resumed his old station on the beach, or fixed himself on the rocks which hung around the Point. And there he might always be seen, a solitary outcast, as it were, and more constantly when the sun was going down, with his eyes gazing on that celestial orb as it sunk into the western horizon, a direction which he well knew pointed to the lost but never forgotten home of his nativity.

With difficulty he sustained the wants of nature by fishing about the rocks, gathering muscles, and sometimes receiving a scanty pittance of corn from the house on the Point, or, a few pence from a passing stranger.

He studiously avoided, as far as possible, all intercourse with his fellow-man, and sought to live and die in solitude; and so did he continue to live a life which manifestly appeared a burden to him, till one morning, as the sun rose, not two years past, his body was found on the beach a stiffened corse, stretched out, and bleaching, as it were, in the white foam of the surf, which was thrown about his lifeless remains as the mighty wave broke on the shore.

It is presumed his death was accidental—that whilst searching for shell fish, in the night, amongst the cliffs, he must have fallen from an eminence, and thus terminated his solitary existence.

EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.

A Heavenly Visitation has favoured the great dissenters, "Evangelical Alliance;" at least, so think its members. Just after dinner, at Manchester, November 6th, a sudden clapping of hands welcomed a beautiful dove that had alighted on the open window. A spectator thus tells the rest:—

"Dr. Raffles's voice was heard calling on the assembly to desist from clapping, lest they should drive away the little 'messenger of peace' by their noise; instead of which he called upon them to express their joy by joining in singing Cowper's sweet hymn, 'Oh! for a closer walk with God,' the fourth verse of which has a direct reference to the heavenly 'dove.' The hymn was sung accordingly by the whole company, of between two and three hundred persons, standing; the fearless bird still retaining its position at the window, regardless of the noise, and appearing, by the movements of its head, to participate in the pleasure of the sacred song. But what was our astonishment, as soon as the fourth verse commenced—

'Return, O holy dove return,
Sweet messenger of rest,'

to see the little visitor actually fly into the room, and take its seat on the top of a cupboard overlooking the assembly, where it remained stationary until the hymn was concluded; after which it quietly took its departure by the same window through which it had originally found an entrance."

All this was a god-send to the after-dinner speech-makers, and "the dove," "the olive branch," and "Noah in the ark," made a good share of the speeches; and it was looked upon as a "visible sign" of God's approbation in their cause! The Liverpool Mail, who looks at the dove from a Church of England angle of vision, can see no such sign. It thus shakes the poetry out of the dove's wings, as it goes on with its comments:—

"And to come to Manchester, too, dear bird, at such a risk of suffocation! The 'messenger of peace' had a hymn sung to it, which was, at least, civil; and it listened to it with polite attention, and at its finish, made its bow, kissed hands, and respectfully retired. But are not these good people rather hasty in supposing that the pigeon was a 'messenger of peace,' and that it took any interest in the 'sacred song?' It might have been pleased with the 'rigs of barley,' but to fancy that it knew anything of Cowper's rather cracked rhymes is too large a draft upon the imagination. Is it not more probable that the pigeon, or dove, as it is styled, was performing a commercial excursion, travelling faster than a railway train, or a commercial *gent*, and conveying from a Quaker in London, to his friend in Manchester, the deeply important fact of a sudden fall in the price of corn? This, we contend, is exceedingly probable. But it might have been the bearer of the result of a horse-race at Newmarket, a prize-fight in Essex, between Deaf Joe, the tanner, and Ned, the left-handed baker of Epping; or it might be the result of a game of chess in St. Paul's churchyard, or a match in Westminster cock-pit, between the famous bull-terriers, Blue-nosed Bob and Van Trump, both dogs belonging to well known and popular members of the House of Commons."—*Boston Post.*

The cruelty of Lord Elgin, the Governor-